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Mag guarde nuestro Señor con la creciente
vida y estado que Puede.

altisima catolica y Poderosa mag
besa sus reales pies su menor basallo

Balthasar
Obregon

A Facsimile Page of Folio 6 of the Obregón Manuscript, with Obregón's Signature

Obregón's History

Of 16th Century Explorations In Western America

ENTITLED

Chronicle, Commentary, or Relation of the Ancient and Modern Discoveries in New Spain and New Mexico, Mexico, 1584

Translated, edited, and annotated by
GEORGE P. HAMMOND
University of Southern California
and
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WETZEL PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
336 SOUTH BROADWAY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
1928

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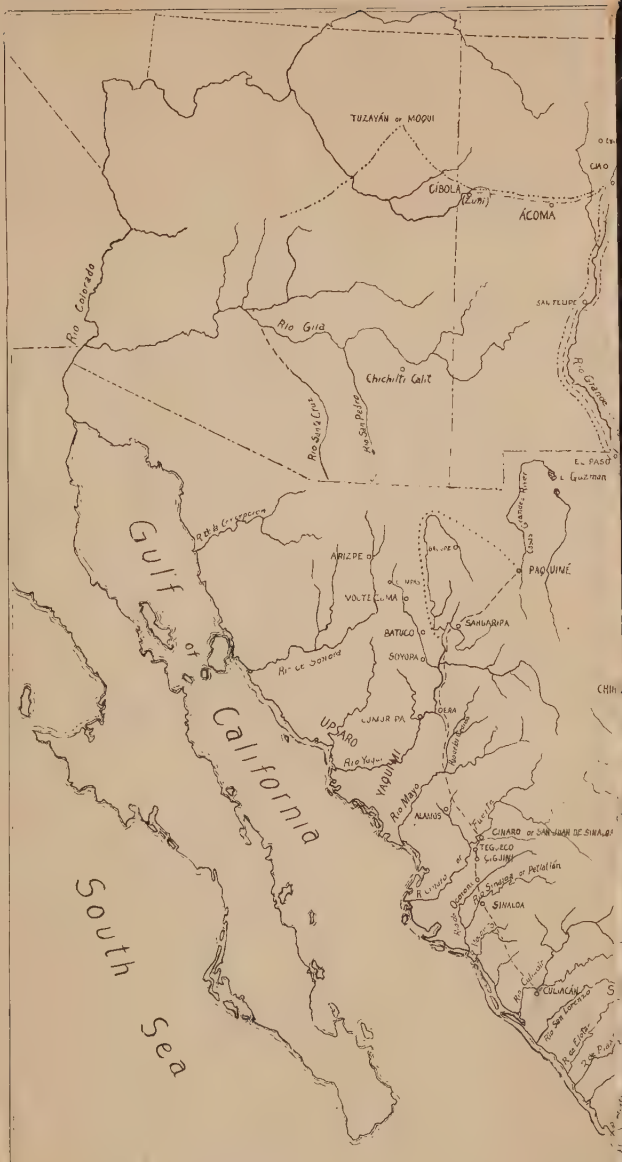

NORTHWESTERN NEW SPAIN TO 1583

Compiled by George P. Hammond

Ibarra Expedition, 1565 -- (or ···?)
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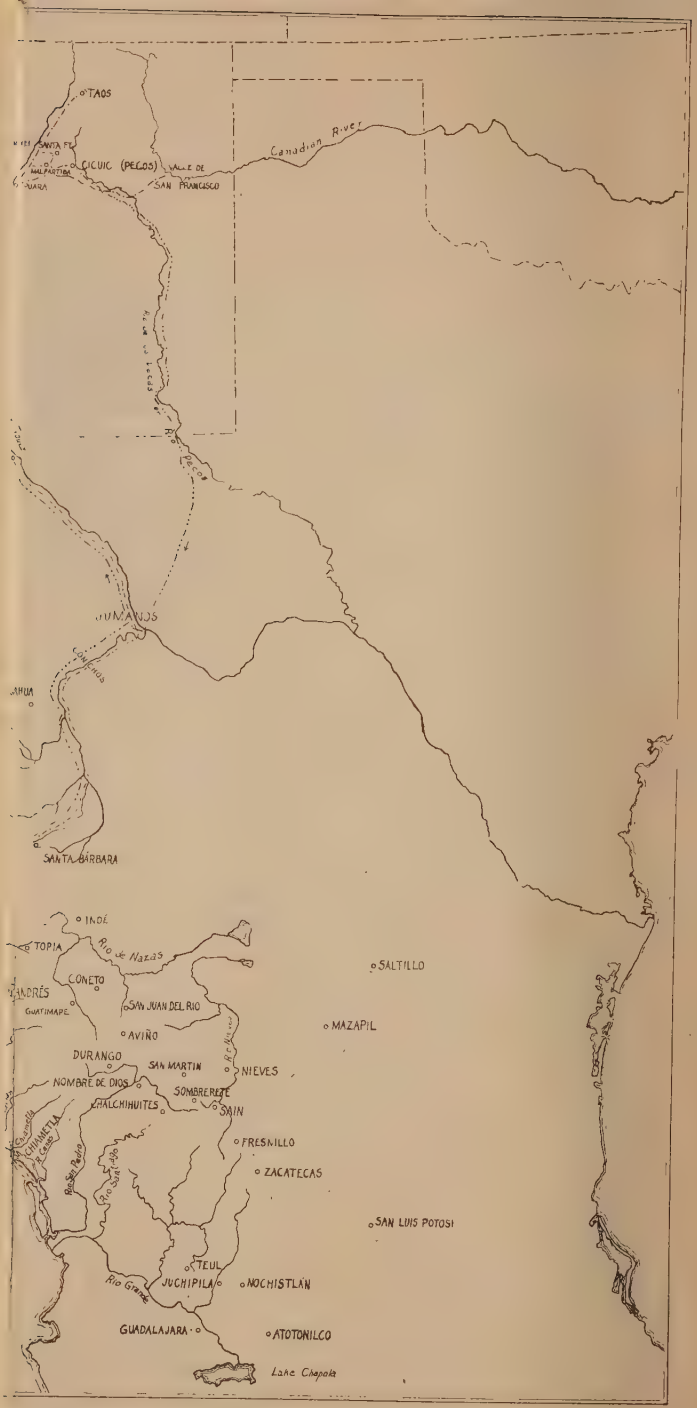
Espejo Expedition, 1582-1583 -···



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*There are a number of irregularities in the table of contents of Obregón's manuscript which we have not followed. Some titles are omitted, for example. In this instance the word "Ciquic" is given as "Sicuique" and in the next chapter heading as "Çiquique," the only cases in the book where that is true.

INTRODUCTION

Northern Expansion in Mexico, 1519-1584

When in 1517 Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses on the door of the church in Wittenberg the Protestant Reformation was inaugurated. His act kindled a war on the Roman Catholic Church which rent it asunder, dividing the Church for all time. The episode compares strikingly with a contemporary historical event in another sphere of the world, likewise of far-reaching significance. This was the discovery and conquest of Mexico, following close upon the heels of the work of Columbus, which offset in a measure the effects of Luther's attacks in that it compensated the Catholics for their losses in Europe. Luther might break off the northern countries from their allegiance to Rome, but in America, of which little definite information was current on the continent, the Roman Catholic Church was in the act of planting its banners and of carrying them to the Straits of Magellan and far into North America. A remarkable contrast indeed, and one which did not escape our chronicler, who inveighs against "the infernal, abominable, contagious, and pernicious sect of the basilisk Martin Luther . . . this perfidious opponent and enemy of our holy Catholic faith," and praises "the Catholic and Christian marquis Don Hernando Cortés for the preservation, conversion, and salvation of large numbers of idolatrous Indians." Spain became the champion of Catholicism in the New World as she had been in the Old.

The Cortés expedition to Mexico, undertaken on the heels of Luther's memorable deed, was a remarkable occurrence. In two years a vast and purely American society in the valley of Anahuac had been partially subjugated, treasure and blood had flowed in great quantities, especially native treasure and blood. And in the following years as the area of conquest, like a stream in flood, spread over an ever widening region, the process went on. Heathen idols and temples and belongings were despoiled; new territories occupied. The conquerors found their appetites

whetted by what had been gained and pressed on. Cortés, the great conqueror, governor, captain general, and Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca and the richest vassal of the king of Spain in America, did not leave these tempting fields till 1540, and then it was to defend himself against the encroachments of others, like himself, emboldened by greed and gold.[1]

Cortés had left Cuba under doubtful circumstances. Velázquez, the governor of the island known as the Pearl of the Antilles, had become suspicious, but the conqueror sailed hurriedly and gave him the slip. But not for long could that continue. Cortés might sink his boats, hasten inland, and win great glory in battles with the natives. It served only to heighten the wrath of the piqued governor, his superior. Not to be permanently outdone he organized a great force, larger than the one Cortés had, and sent it off under Pánfilo de Narváez to bring back to his rightful allegiance this adventurer so careless of his responsibilities. But that superb politician and soldier, who might spend his idle moments in amorous pursuits—and what conqueror did not—was always equal to such occasions as this. Leaving his fiery lieutenant Pedro de Alvarado in the city of the Montezumas, he departed for the coast to obtain a great and easy victory over Narváez and his adherents, largely by blandishments. Narváez lost an eye; Cortés won a great army. All therein were enticed by the prospect of sharing in the treasure for which Mexico was already renowned and readily enlisted under the banners of Cortés. Thus strengthened as regards

[1]This summary of northward expansion has been prepared as a general introduction to Obregón's *Chronicle*. References have been omitted as they may be found in the notes accompanying the body of the work. The principal books on which it is based are: Aiton, A. S. *Antonio de Mendoza*, Durham, 1927; Baldwin, Percy M. Fray Marcos' Relacion in *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. I, no. 2, Santa Fe, 1926; Bancroft, H. H. *History of Mexico*, 6 vols., San Francisco, 1886; Bolton, Herbert E. *Spanish Borderlands*, New Haven, 1921; Bolton, H. E., and Marshall, T. M. *The Colonization of North America*, New York, 1920; Hodge, F. W., and Lewis, T. H. *The Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543*, New York, 1907; Hackett, C. W. *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya . . . to 1773*, Washington 1923; Hammond, George P., and Rey, Agapito *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition*, Santa Fe, 1927; Lowery, W. *Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561*, New York, 1901; Mecham, J. Lloyd *Francisco de Ibarra*, Durham, 1927; Priestley, Herbert I. *The Mexican Nation*, New York, 1923; Winship, George P. *The Coronado Expedition*, 1540-1542. Bureau of Ethnology *Fourteenth Annual Report*, part I, Washington, 1896.

both men and horses, this last reinforcement being particularly worthy of note, the victor was able to vanquish the native hosts in and around Mexico city and to send able subordinates all over southern Mexico and even into Central America whither he also journeyed on one memorable occasion.

While Cortés in Mexico was subjecting a wealthy native society and winning the favor of Charles V by princely gifts, others, as bold as he, sought to emulate his achievements. The same Narváez who had met the Marquis of the Valley on unequal terms and been imprisoned for his pains, was at length liberated. Then he returned to Spain, very bitter against the man who had defeated him. He was not the only one who nourished grievances like that. Velázquez of Cuba, whose vassal Cortés had been during the years spent in the conquest of the island, had suffered even greater losses, if not greater humiliation. But they were unable to prevail against the lucky adventurer at the court of Charles, even with the purchased support of the powerful Bishop Fonseca. The king was in a happy mood over what had been won. He had been given an empire; it was not well to look too closely into the manner in which it had been acquired.

But there was still hope for Narváez. Ponce de León, of lasting fame, had died before completing the conquest of La Florida. Here the one-eyed Narváez might succeed. He sought and was given a grant extending from La Florida to the Rio de las Palmas in modern Texas. Many hundred adventurers enlisted under his banner, to meet at last only hardships and death, finding the greatest adventure of all coming too soon. Five survivors there were. One was picked up by De Soto some years later in Florida. The other four, after experiencing much as slaves and then as medicine men, escaped from the natives and the land itself and reached the west coast of Mexico eight years after the start of the expedition. These men, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, had much to tell. They had seen the buffalo. They had heard about Indians who lived in houses, and many other tales—the imagination may almost be given free rein in conjuring up the pictures told by them.

Cabeza de Vaca went to Spain and whispered some things into the ear of the monarch, so it was said. There must have

been a reason. At least it helped fire the imaginations of others who wanted to conquer natives for the glory of God and for the treasures they possessed. Cortés, nearing the end of his career in the New World, insisted that the newly reported areas were his by previous royal grant. Mendoza, the new viceroy and scion of the royal house, found here the opportunity to increase the prestige of the viceroyalty. The handsome Pedro de Alvarado of Guatemala, former lieutenant of Cortés, also had his mind on new conquests. The bloodthirsty Guzmán felt he had claims which entitled him to renewed royal favor. A merry-go-round contest it was, culminating in a visit of Cortés to Spain to see Charles V personally. But his sun was rapidly sinking; he never again returned to the early scenes of his glorious accomplishments.

Much had meantime occurred in New Spain. The hotbloods of Mexico city, as Professor Bolton calls them, ever eager to try their mettle if the gamble seemed good, had added new provinces to the constantly growing Spanish Empire. Pánuco, in the Tampico region, Nueva Galicia on the west coast, became familiar names of new territories. Prospectors, missionaries, and settlers all filled in gradually. And then without warning Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions emerged from the great unknown interior in 1536 with bewildering tales. It caused a great stir in the New World and reverberated in the Old. When the petty jealousies of the ambitious leaders had been smoothed out or squelched, the viceroy was seen to have the situation firmly in hand. If any "new" Mexicos were to be won it would be by his authority. The prestige of success would redound to him and his new office.

Mendoza's first move was to interest Cabeza de Vaca in northern exploration. That doughty individual may have been tempted, but declined, as did his former associates. The negro slave Estevanico, however, could be purchased. That was done. Provided with an experienced guide the viceroy undertook a preliminary reconnaissance of the northern land. It was performed in dramatic fashion by Fray Marcos de Niza, aided by Estevanico. Setting out from Culiacán they reached and crossed our Arizona, their journey ending near the Seven Cities, called Cíbola, identical with pueblos around the present Zuñi, in west-

ern New Mexico. The negro entered first, being days ahead of the padre, and was killed. Fray Marcos observed what he could of the first village from a distance and absorbed what the Indian guides were trying to tell him—and some besides. His stories told and retold in Mexico, made Cabeza de Vaca appear to be a piker. There in the Cíbola country was something worth a great gamble indeed. And Mendoza proceeded to dig deep into the royal coffers in order to organize the Coronado expedition on a grand scale.

Fray Marcos had made his exploration in 1539. Coronado with a resplendent army was ready the next year. The viceroy made the long and laborious trip from Mexico city to Compostela in person, to bid his favorite, the governor of Nueva Galicia, Godspeed. The men were in high spirits; the Seven Cities dreamed of for ages would soon be theirs! Cooperating with Coronado were a couple of vessels under the command of Alarcón. They sailed up the Gulf, ascended the Colorado river to Yuma, but found that Coronado was too far away for them to be of any assistance. He was forced to rely on his own resources.

The Coronado expedition pushed slowly northward. Men and horses unused to camp life had to become accustomed to the new order of things. To make faster progress the leader selected a small group of horse and foot from among his friends and pushed ahead. The army followed more slowly. The advance party, eager to gaze upon the new cities, supposed source of extraordinary wealth, nearly wore themselves out as well as their horses in crossing the inhospitable deserts and mountains of Arizona. They were indeed in a greatly weakened condition when they approached the first pueblo of the new lands. But what a disillusionment! It was an adobe village with no visible sign of treasure. Moreover the Indians were opposed to their visit and invited them to leave. That meant a fight. One followed, and Coronado would perhaps have been counted among the dead but for the timely aid of his companions in arms. He was the special target of the Indians owing to his brilliant armor, and was twice struck and unhorsed. One immediate need was met by the Spanish victory. There was a

good supply of food in the conquered village; and the soldiers cared for little just then but to satisfy their hunger.

Extensive explorations were soon undertaken to learn the true nature of the land. In the course of this activity Cárdenas discovered the Grand Cañon of the Colorado river. He became the first white man to gaze upon it, but not to reach its bottom, for in this he failed after several days of labor. A companion by the name of Tovar found his way to the Hopi pueblos of northeastern Arizona. Alvarado, another leader, went eastward, visited Ácoma, the Rio Grande valley pueblos, and continued till he came upon the buffalo herds, of which the Spaniards had before this time heard much.

It was now desirable to establish winter quarters and upon the natives of the Rio Grande valley fell the choice. They were unwelcome hosts, but it was inevitable. Soon the main forces also came, aggravating the situation so far as the natives were concerned. The Spaniards had meanwhile left a part of their number in a newly founded town in the Sonora valley. They were later massacred in an Indian uprising owing to the excesses of the soldiers.

In the spring of the following year Coronado explored as far as Kansas with a small force in search of the province of Quivira. The results were the same as in the past, endless hardship and suffering, nothing more. Another winter was spent in the Rio Grande country among the overburdened natives and then home, friends, recognized failure, and disgrace. Much had been learned during these two years, but little gained save experience and considerable definite knowledge of the country and its occupants.

While the Spanish knights were thus galavanting through our Southwest, the Indians of sparsely settled New Galicia took occasion to revolt. The restrictions which they suffered under the civilization imposed upon them were great. They preferred to be free, and precipitated a conflict known as the Mixtón war. Encomenderos and padres were killed or driven out, and even Guadalajara was besieged. Here was work for eager swords and some were found who scorned not the opportunity. The deputy governor was cautious and waited for reinforcements. But Pedro de Alvarado, chancing by on a projected expedition

up the coast, was invited to help and he accepted. Caution was not part of the nature of this successful adventurer. Spurning offers of assistance, he attacked, was repulsed with great loss, and in the flight of his men lost his life ingloriously. Tonatiuh's star had at last bit the dust. Such reverses roused the viceroy and heavy forces were sent from Mexico, after which the embattled natives were driven from their fortresses. They had fettered new collars of servitude for themselves.

Such was the situation on the mainland upon the return of the Coronado forces in 1542. It was natural that for some time to come there should be less enthusiasm for chasing another will-o'-the-wisp in the unpromising north. Time heals all wounds, however, and past obstacles were forgotten when, a few years later, rich silver veins were discovered in the Zacatecas region. It was the old story over again and some of the older settlements were well nigh depopulated by the rush of settlers to the new regions. This movement led to the organization of a regular provincial audiencia, Nueva Galicia, to care for the recently occupied territory. From this time on it became a factor in the extension of Spanish authority into the lands of nearby Indians, especially because of the presence of valuable mines over which it desired to exercise administrative sway. In this effort it came into conflict with Francisco de Ibarra and his friends. He was the youthful member of a wealthy and influential family, destined to achieve great things, engaged like the rest of his type in prospecting and subjugating the hostile Indians. In 1554 he had secured appointment in this northern field and soon led conquering expeditions into new regions, discovering numerous famous mines. Ibarra was not alone in these tasks. Mercado, looking for a fabled mountain of pure silver, Juan de Tolosa, Luís Cortés, and other restless spirits, engaged in these daring pursuits.

Ibarra worked out of Zacatecas, which then marked the limit of Spanish occupation. The year 1554 witnessed his first expedition, but a small one. The party passed the later Fresnillo, went on to the Rio de Nieves, north to San Miguel where they first heard of the mines of San Martín. Some soldiers actually went there and procured samples of ore. The next place on the line of march was Aviño, also to be famous for its

mines. Hearing of the fabulous province of Copalá they marched northward into the San Juan valley. As the Indians were hostile they went on to the mines of San Lucas and then turned southward, passing through Guatimape and to the valley of Guadiana where a serious fight with the natives took place. The latter had no desire to entertain the intruder in any other way than with clubs and arrows properly directed. Supplies running short, the party now returned to Zacatecas. This expedition was purely an exploratory one.

In the interval marked by this expedition and Ibarra's appointment as governor in 1562, settlements were established at the mining sites already visited. To this period belongs the founding of such towns as San Martín, Aviño, Chalchihuites, Sombrerete, Fresnillo, Nieves, and others. As was invariably the case the occupancy was the joint work of the military and religious leaders.

As indicated above, Francisco de Ibarra was given the right to conquer the new lands beyond San Martín and Aviño, the appointment coming through the influence of his uncle Diego de Ibarra, the real backer of the intended explorations. Diego being a cripple could not personally undertake work of that nature. Francisco was given the title of governor and captain general, his province being named Nueva Vizcaya.

Early in the following year Francisco de Ibarra left San Martín for the frontier to spend half a decade in great explorations. Tôpia was the first "kingdom" discovered. It was high in the mountains, poor and very difficult of access. The natives helped them find a way out of these dreary lands, guiding them to a river which proved to be the Culiacán. The men were chagrined to learn that they were in territory already occupied by white men. That was nevertheless true. The villa of Culiacán had been founded by Guzmán in 1531, and the land round about occupied.

To the Ibarra party it must have seemed that fate was a tricky player. Tôpia was anything but a Paradise; and from there their military expedition had been led into settled lands. Should they return? There were two other avenues of escape from the dilemma, one of which gleamed with hope. They might turn south into inviting Chiametla, not yet settled, or

go north into Sinaloa, then quite unknown. This was the better chance, for Chiametla had been granted to an oidor of the audiencia of Guadalajara, and though he had remained inactive it seemed unwise to disturb vested interests of that kind. Accordingly Ibarra went north into Sinaloa and spent some time exploring Petlatlán, Ocoroni, Tegueco, and other populous Indian towns. A small fortification was erected on the Sinaloa river, and here all of the soldiers gathered. Thus reinforced a town site was laid out on the banks of the Fuerte, officials of the town were named, and lands distributed. In the midst of these activities word came that Morones, the Chiametla grantee, was dead, thus opening the way for the occupancy of that very desirable province. Placing a trusted subordinate in charge of the newly founded San Juan on the Fuerte, Ibarra hastened southward in April, 1564, all this with the support of his uncle Diego.

In Chiametla Ibarra labored eleven months in effecting its permanent occupancy. The Indians were pacified, towns founded, mines discovered, and the road from Mexico made secure. Meanwhile stories of great kingdoms far in the north continued to be picked up by the sensitive ears of the soldiers, always eager to hear such reports. Ibarra decided to test them, having now regulated matters in Chiametla to his satisfaction. Thus in the summer of 1565 he marched north to undertake one of the most extraordinary expeditions since Coronado's time.

Ibarra's force was small, including only about sixty soldiers. Northward they went from San Juan, across the valley of the Mayo, up that of Los Cedros, and into the Yaqui amid great difficulties. To increase their worries they found the Indians using poisoned arrows, a fact which caused much concern. From the Yaqui valley they evidently turned eastward, finally ending their march at the pueblo of Paquimé, perhaps Casas Grandes in Chihuahua below the New Mexico border. If they did not visit the Chihuahua pueblos they went north to the Gila, but there seems to be more difficulty in reaching this conclusion satisfactorily than the former. The Indians talked about Cabeza de Vaca, at least the Spaniards thought so, but made no mention of Coronado or his force. The assumption would be that he did not come through that point, Paquimé, where Ibarra was now pondering the past and the future, and thus Ibarra's

goal must have been Chihuahua, not Arizona where Coronado did go. In any event the expedition did not reach the New Mexico pueblos. Their rediscovery was to wait more than another long decade and be effected by a force even weaker than Ibarra's. Amid incredible hardships, which almost occasioned the destruction of the expedition, the return was made over a different and more southerly route. The aim was to avoid the territory where poisoned arrows were in use. Success crowned their efforts at last and they reached home in safety.

The great character of our story, Francisco de Ibarra, disappears from the stage soon after the return from Paquimé. He left the coast provinces and spent his last days on the other side of the Sierra Madre. Death overtook him while still in the middle thirties.

After the departure of Ibarra from the Sinaloa country development proceeded more slowly, but a decided impetus had been given to northward expansion.

Before the close of the century one other incident of striking significance took place and is depicted for us in part two of the *Chronicle* of Obregón. This was the second discovery of the Pueblo region of New Mexico and Arizona in 1581. There was really nothing extraordinary about it. On the contrary the frontier had by that time reached Santa Bárbara in Chihuahua and stories of the north, wafted south by traders and explorers, were sufficient to stimulate the organization of a new expedition. It was a natural movement of expansion. The work of preparing the new force was done by Father Rodríguez and a soldier named Chamuscado. The missionary secured the approval of the authorities for the exploration; the soldier provided the escort and leadership of the party. From Santa Bárbara they descended the Conchos river and went up the Rio Grande, visiting the pueblos en route. The inhabitants had real houses and wore real clothes, both objects of surprise and admiration. Up to Taos the country was explored, and from Pecos on the east to Ácoma and Zuñi on the west. Then the soldiers departed, leaving the missionaries behind.

Upon the return to Santa Bárbara of only a part of the force plans were immediately put under way for a relief expedition. This was carried out within a few months by Antonio de Espejo,

a merchant of Mexico city with a penchant for adventure and gain. The party covered approximately the same territory as its predecessor, after ascertaining the death of the missionaries, though exceeding it by a visit to the Hopi pueblos and a long jaunt into Arizona in search of mines. The return home was made by way of the Pecos river. These two explorations accomplished what Ibarra had failed to do. The Pueblo region was this time permanently discovered, though its occupancy was to wait another fifteen years.

Thus far Obregón takes us in his *Chronicle*, weaving in a multitude of interesting stories and facts, the extent of which is barely indicated in the above sketch. The reason for stopping with the story of Espejo's exploit is not far to seek. Obregón was a soldier, one of Ibarra's faithful. His encomienda was not rich. By presenting the king with a magnificent report on his northern provinces of New Spain, in which the chronicler had played a part, might he not win glory and reward? And perchance, being a loyal vassal, secure appointment as governor of this new land? Espejo was back in Santa Bárbara in November, 1583. Obregón completed his chronicle in Mexico in April, 1584. No time was to be lost in presenting his case to Philip II. What happened? We know that Obregón did not win this honor. That went to Oñate. We do not even know whether it caused a favorable reaction in Spain.

Baltasar de Obregón was born in the city of Mexico early in 1544.[2] Record of the baptismal service of January 14 is still preserved. His father was also called Baltasar and his mother, Doña Beatriz. Luís Marin and his wife, and Luís de la Torre and his wife acted as sponsors. Marin is said to have reached Mexico within a month after the coming of Cortés. He was present at the siege of the city of Mexico, took part in the conquest of the neighboring provinces, and served as captain in various towns and provinces. La Torre, a native of

[2]The material presented regarding Obregón's family may be found in Cuevas, Mariano, ed. *Historia de Obregón*, Mexico, 1924; Icaza, Francisco A. de *Diccionario Autobiográfico de Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España*, Madrid, 1923; and in Obregón's *Información de Servicios*, Archivo General de Indias, 59-6-23. A copy of this document was obtained through the courtesy of Dr. Arthur S. Aiton of the University of Michigan and Dr. J. Lloyd Mecham of the University of Texas.

Ciudad Real, was long a soldier in Granada, but finally came to Española with Diego Columbus and later moved to Mexico with his entire household where Cortés granted him certain towns in encomienda. These facts indicate the standing of the Obregón family in New Spain.

Obregón's grandfather, Rodrigo de Baeza, married Mari López de Obregón. Both were from Burgos. From this union came three sons and two daughters, the first being Baltasar de Obregón, father of our chronicler. He first moved to Española and then became one of the first settlers of New Spain. There he was given the pueblo of Tezuntepec in encomienda. The second son Luís de Obregón also served with distinction in the New World. He was one of the first settlers to come to Mexico, but moved to Española and aided Diego Velázquez in the conquest of Cuba, where he served in various offices. He was later with Narváez's party to Mexico, with Cortés to Honduras as his secretary, and served in other important charges. The other children of Rodrigo de Baeza and Mari López de Obregón played less conspicuous roles. The latter died in the city of Mexico when over ninety years of age.

Obregón's mother, Doña Beatriz, was a daughter of Gómez de Betanzos, an interesting fact in view of later events. Gómez de Betanzos was born in Valladolid, the legitimate son of Gómez García Sotelo and Beatriz de Betanzos. He served with Pedrarias for a time, but due to ill health returned to Spain where he married. He held numerous positions and also served as soldier in the Alhambra as well as in Italy. Later he brought his family to New Spain, where one of his four sons served the king honorably as is told in this *Chronicle*.

Baltasar de Obregón, our chronicler, inherited his father's encomienda at Tezuntepec, where he probably spent a part of his youth. When nineteen years of age he began serving the king, as is seen from his first letter to Philip II. This may have been the occasion when he joined Antonio de Luna on the pearl fishing excursion to California. Thereafter he followed the standard of Ibarra and when the latter's conquests were ended, and they were practically over by 1566, he returned to Mexico and there married the daughter of Antonio de Luna, Doña Mariana, probably around 1570.

Obregón's *Chronicle* is particularly valuable as a firsthand account of the northern border after 1564, when he began serving Ibarra. It is our chief source of information for Ibarra's tour of 1565 and related events. But it was not written till some years later and suffers in this respect. That handicap is considerably minimized, however, by other documentary materials now available. The *Chronicle* will always remain the standard contemporary account of Francisco de Ibarra and his times in the same manner that Castañeda's narrative is the principal record of the Coronado expedition. It is an historical record of real lasting value.[3]

A faithful attempt has been made in this translation to adhere strictly to the thought and meaning of the original. Any translator must seek to convey to his audience the ideas that animated the author, rather than a mere rendering into English of his words in about the same order. Such practise cannot be condoned and has not been attempted. We have sought to make the translation as readable as a faithful adherence to the original permitted. The paragraphing, punctuation, and capitalization are our own. Spanish terms which have no equivalent in English and which usage has not adopted have been italicized.

Proper names in general have not been changed, with some important exceptions. We have modernized the spelling in such words as Ybarra, Quibira, and Guadalaxara, for example. In words like Narváez, Velázquez, Vázquez, Vizcaya, and Galizia, where "s's" and "z's" constantly vary we have adopted a standard form. Similar uniformity has been followed with reference to Mohoce, Cinaro, and some other words where the "Ç" is used occasionally. Cinaro, for example, is spelled with a "C", "Ç",

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[3]The only title which Obregón's *History* bears in the original is the somewhat unwieldy one: *Crónica comentario ó relaciones de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de Nueva España y del Nuevo Mexico.* Or in English: *Chronicle, Commentary, or Relation of the Ancient and Modern Discoveries in New Spain and New Mexico.* It was written in Mexico in 1584. The manuscript is in the Archivo General de Indias, 1-1-3/22, but there are several copies in the United States, including one in the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and another in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The editors secured photostat copies of the entire document and have taken great pains to insure the absolute integrity of the text. This task is of special importance because of the errors in the typewritten copies and in the edition recently printed in Mexico.

or "S" in the manuscript. There is no sufficient reason for continuing these differences. The lengthy marginal notes have been abbreviated where possible. Brackets indicate extraneous material. Some confusion in the numbering of the chapters has been rectified for the sake of clarity. Such liberties as we have taken would seem to fall within the discretion of editors and in no case have we departed from the original without warning the reader of any variation.

The translation is a joint work. The introduction is by Mr. Hammond. We have constantly collaborated and compared the results of our labors.

We are deeply indebted to the many friends who have kindly given of their assistance in the preparation of this work. Especially to Dr. F. W. Hodge of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, do we extend our thanks.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND
AGAPITO REY

TWO LETTERS FROM BALTASAR DE OBREGÓN TO PHILIP II

MOST POWERFUL LORD:

It is the duty of gentlemen, hidalgos, and eminent people to serve your highness and your royal crown in the defense of our holy Catholic faith and of your kingdoms, vassals, and states. My forefathers, grandparents, and parents always occupied themselves in the fulfillment of these obligations and rendered these services not only in the kingdom of Castile but also here in the Indies. Desiring to do likewise, I began from the time I was nineteen years to serve your highness at my own expense through much hardship and at the risk of my life in the conquests in New Vizcaya, on the expedition to California, and elsewhere, as is evident from the affidavits I am sending to your highness.

In view of the various accounts which private individuals may forward concerning the newly discovered lands and the interests of your royal crown, I determined to serve your highness by writing the commentary and relation which I am remitting. I am sure it is of great value; a warning and incentive to awaken the innumerable natives found in these strange, diverse, and remote parts, who lack the light of faith, from the slumber in which they have been held by the devil, and to free them from Satan by whom they are enslaved. If your highness may be pleased to have the Holy Gospel preached to the people in those provinces with the necessary zeal, God our Lord will be served and many idolatries and notable sins which the devil has implanted among the natives will be eradicated. Thus having succeeded in this holy purpose your royal crown will be served by an increase of vassals, tribute, and royal fifths.

In these accounts are also recorded most of the discoveries that have been carried out in these parts, the captains and persons who undertook them, and the value and results thereof. Those which are unprofitable and of no value and those from

which profit and benefits for your royal crown may be expected, particularly the discovery of the provinces of San Felipe of New Mexico, are indicated. [It is also shown] that the latter are not new discoveries. [It mentions] the wealth of those provinces and the good news obtained regarding new lands and peoples. [It contains] information and forewarnings necessary in those lands for the service of God and of your royal crown. [It gives] a report relative to the conduct of warfare against the Indians. I entreat your highness to have this read, examined, and studied and to select and utilize that which may be most profitable for the service of God our Lord and your royal crown.

I offer to serve your highness in these regions as your *maeso de campo* or captain and to discover, investigate, and explore six hundred leagues* beyond San Felipe of New Mexico, provided I am furnished with everything necessary for the said expedition. Or, I offer to go and settle the said provinces in company with the general who may be chosen for that purpose. This enterprise will result in furthering the service of God our Lord; and your royal crown will be benefited by the increase of vassals and services.

May our Lord protect and enrich with all the favors and happiness in His power the cesarean royal person of your highness.

From Mexico City, Tuesday, April 17, 1584. Mighty lord: kisses the royal feet of your highness,

BALTASAR OBREGON.

SACRED CESAREAN ROYAL MAJESTY:

My ancestors, forefathers, and parents devoted themselves to the service of your majesty in conquering, settling, and pacifying this your domain of the Indies and the city of Mexico. They served as captains, treasurers, and *contadores* besides holding other prominent positions in this New Spain. I have followed them in this duty as a humble vassal of your majesty in the conquests of New Vizcaya, California, Cíbola, and New Mexico, as is fully recorded in the reports that this royal audiencia is

*A league varies from about 2.42 to 4.6 English statute miles. The old Spanish land league, 2.6 miles, is used in Mexico, Texas, the Philippines, etc.

sending to the royal council of your majesty. Likewise I have devoted myself to the service of God our Lord and of your royal majesty by composing a chronicle, commentary, and relation dealing with the ancient and modern discoveries in the largest part of these Indies. [It contains] warnings and advice of importance for the service of your majesty and for the growth of your kingdoms and *real hacienda.*

I beg that your majesty may be pleased to examine it or to order it read in order that that portion which your majesty may consider most useful may be selected, and that my needs, as my services may merit, be relieved by one of the appointments usually tendered to others, not because they have served your majesty but because of the influence which they bring to bear. Likewise I hope to be honored, entrusted, and favored with military appointments in new discoveries, for I have held similar offices in many different places. Of this I am giving an account which is my duty as an obedient vassal of your majesty, whom, may our Lord favor with the prosperity and happiness which He can bestow.

From the Indies, the province of New Spain, April 26, 1584.

Sacred cesarean royal majesty: Your obedient vassal kisses the feet of your majesty.

Baltasar Obregon.

PROLOGUE

ONE OF the most wonderful creations which God our Eternal Benefactor ordered and established was the immortality and excellence of the soul, which is and was made in the image of His divine Majesty. This harmonizes with the immortality and eternity of His divine Being. He further ordained the most precious mystery, the resurrection of the dead, in order that they, resplendent, bright, beautiful, and impassive likewise should enjoy His eternity. To see humanity thus joined to divinity exceeds all majesty, I would not say human but angelic. God wanted to be man and joined two natures in Himself perfectly. He chose to be man in order that man might be like God. This is a wonderful and admirable mystery, which I do not know if celestial language can describe and which indeed exceeds all human understanding. God did not wish to be counted among angels but among men in order that thereby we should appreciate His deep love and great consideration for us. Then what shall we say of that great love and infinite mercy by which He places us above the angels, appointing them as our companions and guardians to protect us against the enmity and temptation of the world, the flesh, and the devil, the three capital and mortal enemies of the majesty and likeness of God our Lord?

Besides this mighty creation, the most perfect and most excellent of all was man, for besides the virtue, strength, and energy which He placed in the soul in order to elevate us above all other creatures in this universal vale of tears, He put all other creatures under man's dominion, authority, and servitude and made him their master. That infinite and highest Creator in order to lift us high above other mortal creatures wished to make us in His image and likeness. He also endowed us with understanding and will, two godlike virtues taken from the greatness and majesty of His divine Being. He gave us a mind in order that we should know Him and the mysteries and usefulness of science and learning, and that we should learn art,

science, and religion. He gave us a will in order that we should be good, just, liberal, and pious.

Together with these gifts He gave us speech in order that by it especially we should be preferred to other creatures and in order that we should be taught and instructed in the knowledge of things and in the good moderation of them, as they are the interpretations of our desires, concepts, and thoughts. This gift of speech was so greatly appreciated by the wise men that they considered it of the same value as immortality and as the best possession of man. Speech is the guide of truth and the life of memory. This witness [oral tradition] of ages and events, the light of antiquity, has always been preferred to histories.

Besides these most valuable gifts, the wonderful creation of the celestial chorus and angels, the heavenly bodies, the movements of the heavens, stars, sun, moon, earth, and sea, what is there that will equal the blessed and inestimable gift of truth? It is like God Almighty and was given to His disciples as the example and guide of good living, the principal of all treasures in the world. Without truth no one can very well be happy.

Therefore, sacred cesarean Catholic majesty, without some of these gifts, especially that of truth, no historian will fail to fall into the abyss of blindness, and it will be unwise to give credit to his history. Although my little worth, talent, experience, study, and practise in the field of letters is evident and notorious, I determined to run the risk and expose myself to the danger of the criticism, which my boldness and the judgment of others, because of differing views, may bring upon me.

I am stealing the occupation and natural activity of the bee, which gathers the substance of many diverse flowers, brings it together, and changes it into sweet honey.[1] In following this example, I should not be blamed for what I may seem to have taken from other histories, if these borrowings are presented with the reasons, examples, and the background necessary to

[1]The passage is similar to one of Seneca's in Epistle 84: "We should follow, men say, the example of the bees, who flit about and cull the flowers that are suitable for producing honey, . . ." Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Epistulae Morales.*

illustrate the point in question. There are many cases a events in the past which serve as example and warning and prevent us from falling into the same mistakes. The latter are pointed out and recorded by historians in order that these examples may not be buried in oblivion or ignored by the short memory of man. Since this history and relation is supported by your majesty and favored and protected by your highness against detractors, who often criticize and find fault with things which are not bad and which bring with them truth, principle, progress, and usefulness, it is fitting that it should be appreciated at its just and righteous worth.

Moreover it has these objects and others of greater value and perfection and serves as a light, guide, example, and model. In it I seek above all things that God our Lord should be obeyed, praised, and exalted by the increase of obedience to Him, His precepts, and by bringing the Indians into the Catholic Christian Brotherhood, as they live in blindness and outside the holy community and do not obey God our Lord. These Indians inhabit the lands discovered by the Christian governors and captains, who were lost in those lands and sections of the northern region and its confines and surroundings, from Paquimé to Quivira, New Mexico, and the other provinces, new lands and settlements, and the others located along the valleys and coasts of the south. Among these are the valleys of Señora and Corazones, the rivers Tizón, Yaqui, and Cinaro[2] as far as the South Sea and the gulf which begins at San Miguel de Culiacán, and all the lands still to be discovered in those regions.

[I likewise seek], in this relation, that your royal majesty may be served with the addition of many provinces, cities, vassals, royal fifths, and tribute; and that the generals, governors, and captains who go to discover, conquer, and settle in your royal service may go warned and informed of many cases and things which are necessary for the proper and successful accomplishment of such expeditions and exploits. It is important that they should be advised of the many dangers which befell the

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[2]Instead of the words *Yaqui* and *Cinaro* Cuevas has this blunder: *y Aquicinaro. Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España, escrita por el conquistador Baltasar de Obregón.* Mexico, 1584. Edited by Father Mariano Cuevas and published in 1924, P. 4. Hereafter cited as Cuevas, *Obregón.*

scist explorers, who lacked this warning. Experience has been a great teacher to those of us who come from there. It has also been an example of the good Christian way in which Governor Francisco de Ibarra conducted his discoveries and government; of the hardships which he and those of us who accompanied him had to suffer; and of the excessive expenditures incurred by the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra and his nephew Francisco de Ibarra and their soldiers in conquering, pacifying, and settling the provinces of New Vizcaya, mountains, mines, and districts.

I am making a record and account of the good news and discoveries which to this day remain unknown of those parts which I have mentioned. In all this I shall give true testimony of what I have seen and experienced in his company in traveling through six hundred leagues of different lands, languages, and nations. When treating of other things I shall cite reliable authors with records and accounts of their events and true exploits in the lands which they have seen and discovered, giving them all whether good or bad. For all this I beg the favor and aid of God our Lord and of your majesty in order that this undertaking may win the esteem, merit, and value for which this your obedient and humble vassal hopes.

Kings and princes, especially constituted by the Almighty God on such a powerful and great throne as your majesty, on whom, as everybody will admit in this world, unquestionably depend this entire organization and the protection of our holy Catholic faith and its entire Christian dominion, being ordinarily too busy with the great weight and immense responsibility of the administration of so many regions and peoples, are seldom able to read histories or other works if, in their composition, these relations are long. This is due to the fact that they have little time left to examine and consider long writings. To remedy this condition properly, and wishing to serve your majesty, and then these your kingdoms in the Indies, as I have verbally [i.e., by letter] related to your majesty, I made and arranged this general and universal history and relation of the places located there. Reduced to suitable brevity and summary are here found their diffusely written histories, some not well understood, and others which remain almost unknown. All learned men will admit this and especially those who are in-

formed regarding these events, provided they are unprejudiced. I dedicated it to your majesty and invoked the favor and aid of God our Lord, without which I do not doubt it will deserve to be blamed and rejected with contempt for what it contains. Without this aid, light, and favor it would be temerity to undertake any task, for with His power to fathom what is hidden He causes the work to acquire that high degree of perfection which only His inspiration and worthiness can impart. At least if I lacked these precautions I can supply the good zeal and desire to succeed in serving the greatness and power of such a learned and powerful king and lord. The least and most obedient vassal of your majesty begs that you be pleased to grant him the favor and kindness that, in case your majesty is prevented from reading this book, it may be given to someone who will read, examine, and study it. By so doing, that which I present may be of benefit to the service of God our Lord, and of your majesty, whom may the great mercy of God Almighty protect, grant strength, and keep on your highest Catholic and royal throne and state with all the increasing fortune possible.

* * * * *

SACRED CESAREAN CATHOLIC ROYAL MAJESTY

Although the apostle was very sure of the truth which he was preaching he went to discuss it with the disciples at Jerusalem in order to comply with the obedience which is due the Church as well as to gain prestige among those who were to listen to his doctrine. Following this example, although I do not doubt the certainty of this history, commentary, and relation, but in order to verify it further I have corrected it, consulting people, readings, and accounts which were given to me and certified by many people. I found it accurate and truthful. May your lordship be pleased to receive it in token of the great desire which I, in my humble capacity, have of serving your majesty, whose powerful, highest, Catholic and royal majesty may God our Lord protect and benefit as He is able.

Highest Catholic and powerful majesty, your humblest servant kisses your royal feet.

BALTASAR OBREGON (Rubric).

Book I

Which deals with the discovery and conquest of Mexico, called Tenochtitlán, New Galicia, New Vizcaya and adjacent regions.

CHAPTER I

Which tells of the first news that the ancient Mexican Culguas, through old paintings and records, gave and revealed of their customs and former history, of their stock and origin, and of their coming from far away lands to conquer the empire and kingdoms of Mexico.

IN THE royal palace and halls of the very rich and mighty king Moteczuma, lord of the distinguished and great city of Mexico—Tenuchutlitlán—and the kingdoms of the Mexican empire, the marquis Don Hernando Cortés found, on rich and well woven blankets and on paper of the large leaves of trees, made by delicate hands, many curious and pleasing paintings, writings, and characters drawn in their old method of writing. They were of wonderful and striking colors and shades, very pleasing to the eye and mind, [3] and much more so to the investigators, because there were three memorable things among the many notable stories which aroused the admiration and curiosity of the inquisitive people.

Knowledge of the Flood among the Mexicans

The first one is that by following the account of the years which every king and lord ruled in the great city of Mexico they came to know the time when the Flood occurred and how all was submerged and lost due to the rains.[4] However they did not learn the cause and explanation of it, or whether they had been warned and had the means of gathering and saving a few of their generation and of all species of birds and animals.

Knowledge of the earthquake

The second memorable curiosity is that by following the same account and relation they came to know, through their

[3]The art of picture writing, among the Nahuas, was very highly developed and most zealously cultivated by a special class of men trained for the purpose. The hieroglyphs were generally painted on long strips of maguey paper, though sometimes also on cotton cloth or prepared skins. For an interesting account of this subject, see Bancroft, H. H. *Native Races*, II, 521 ff.

[4]The Biblical account of the Flood is found in ch. 7 of Genesis.

ancient histories, the year and time when the earthquake took place[5] and the eclipse of the sun when God our Lord suffered on the cross.

Origin of the Mexicans; great mortality

The third occurrence, an old one, was the remarkable notice which is related in their accounts, writings, and histories of the time when there was a great pestilence and mortality in the city of Mexico, its wards and surroundings, caused by a drought which lasted three years. There was no rain in this time, and on that account the natives of its provinces, parts, and districts contracted diseases and ailments which lasted for many years.

Mexicans conquered by the Culguas

These regions were inhabited and held by Otomi, Mactactrinca [Matlatzinca?], Totonaca, Tepeguanes, and others of different languages and customs. All were rustic, poor, and wretched. At that time they were conquered and subjected by the ancient Mexican Culguas, people of greater culture, strength, and courage.[6] The latter are mentioned by the Mexican histories as originating and coming from far away lands toward the east.[7] They subdued and won by force of arms this empire and its lords and natives. These remained in bondage and paid tribute, although they resisted until overpowered. There were many battles, deaths, robberies, and much shedding of blood.

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[5]Cf. ch. 27 of Matthew.

[6]According to Priestley the earliest tribes of historic times to inhabit central Mexico were called Chichimeca, and of these the Toltecs were the most important. These Toltecs came from the northwest, the whole Chichimeca group having first lived on the Gila and Colorado rivers. They were skilful, industrious, and peaceful, but were overthrown sometime in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, probably migrating southward into the Maya country in Yucatan. These earliest Chichimecas were followed by other tribes, of which the Acolhua finally became supreme round about the lake country and founded Tezcoco. They maintained their predominant position till half a century before the coming of the Spaniards. Meanwhile another group, the Aztecs, came down from the north, founded Tenochtitlán in 1325, and before the Spanish conquest ruled with undisputed sway over their less fortunate brethren. Priestley, H. I. *The Mexican Nation,* 18-22. When Obregón talks of the Mexican Culguas he evidently refers to the Acolhua mentioned above.

[7]They are thought to have entered the valley of Anahuac from the northwest. *Ibid.,* 18.

These old chronicles, histories, and accounts were the basis, beginning, and cause which induced the marquis Don Hernando Cortés and the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza to discover and learn the origin, coming, and ancestry of the ancient Mexican Culguas. They believed them to have many people, towns, and riches, and wished to subject them to the communion of our holy Catholic faith.

CHAPTER II

Describing how his imperial majesty granted the marquis Don Hernando Cortés the twelfth part of all that he might discover, conquer, or win in this New Spain; and of the litigations and differences which arose between Don Antonio de Mendoza the viceroy and Pánfilo de Narváez.

Birth of Luther and Cortés

CHRISTIAN consideration, clear and notable, is that which has been explained and stated in the chronicles of the second part of the *Pontifical*[8] and conquests of Mexico, relating how God our Lord permitted in our souls, due to the sins and transgressions of men, the infernal, abominable, contagious, and pernicious sect of the basilisk Martin Luther. God allowed and ordered that on the day when this perfidious opponent and enemy of our holy Catholic faith was born there was also born the Catholic and Christian marquis Don Hernando Cortés for the preservation, conversion, and salvation of large numbers of idolatrous Indians.[9] Owing to the deception and blinding of the devil they used human sacrifice and lived subdued and enslaved in the cursedness of their bestial[10] idolatry and licentious and obscene vices. For that reason they lacked the inestimable virtue of salvation and fell into the depths of the eternal torment of hell.

Suit of Narváez against Cortés

After this holy disposition and after creating this valiant and brave marquis for the conversion of this idolatrous people[11]

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[8]The author seems to refer to Gonzalo de Illescas' *Historia Pontifical y Catolica*, 1574. See note 315.

[9]Luther was born at Eisleben November 10, 1483. McGiffert, *Martin Luther: the Man and His Work*, 5. Cortés was born at Medellin, Estremadura, in 1485. Bourne, E. G. *Spain in America*, 152. The exact date of Cortés' birth is not known.

[10]The word is *bestiales*. Cuevas has *vestidas*. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 11.

[11]The Cortés expedition had been prepared in Cuba, with Diego de Velázquez, the governor, meeting the heaviest expenses. At the last moment he tried to remove Cortés from the command, but failed. The following spring, 1520, he sent Pánfilo de Narváez with a large force to arrest Cortés, but he failed signally and most of his force joined Cortés in the

He made him suffer persecutions by his enemies, Diego Velázquez governor of Cuba and Pánfilo de Narváez, to atone for his sins.

Following his imprisonment Narváez went to the kingdom of Castile to undermine the reputation of the marquis, destroying and belittling his heroic and famous deeds. He accused him of being a transgressor of the laws and royal orders, rebellious against the governor Diego Velázquez, and guilty of much bad treatment and the death of many Indians in carrying out his conquests. Moreover he accused him of owing the natives and the *real hacienda* of your majesty large sums and quantities of treasures.[12]

Cortés goes to Spain

In order to refute and explain this accusation and render obedience to his imperial majesty the marquis went to the kingdom of Castile.[13] He had conquered and pacified the greater part of this rich new kingdom and left it subdued to the service and obedience of the imperial crown. [He also went] to ask for favor and remuneration for the services which he and the conquerors had performed for the crown in conquering and placing the land under his royal dominion and to ask for priests to convert and keep the natives in our holy Catholic faith.

When he had satisfied the royal council and refuted the bad opinion which Pánfilo de Narváez had given of him, he went to confer with the invincible Caesar, of glorious memory, who was

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conquest of Mexico. Velázquez then appealed to the crown. Bishop Fonseca, in charge of the department of Indian affairs, was won over by heavy bribes and exerted himself to defame Cortés. By his influence Cristóbal de Tapia was sent to take charge of the government of New Spain and to investigate the conqueror of Mexico. However he was compelled to return to Spain without having accomplished anything. On the emperor's return from Germany in 1522 an investigation of the charges against Fonseca and Cortés was ordered. Irregularities by both parties were uncovered but Cortés had won a great empire, and the crown was not unaware of the necessity of justifying the means he had used. The decision therefore was in favor of Cortés. See Bolton and Marshall, *Colonization of North America*, 33, 34; Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 37-41; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II, 85-90.

[12]After the defeat of the Velázquez party Narváez, Tapia, and others continued to press the charges against Cortés, but received no satisfaction. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 91.

[13]Cortés reached Palos in May, 1528. MacNutt, F. A. *The Letters of Cortés*, I, 51.

in the German empire[14] punishing the rebels and enemies of our holy Catholic faith, and the disobedience within the empire to his imperial authority. When he had kissed the emperor's feet he was received pleasantly and kindly and honored and thanked for the good, profitable, and loyal services which he and the conquerors had performed for the imperial crown at the cost and risk of their lives. These services his majesty rewarded honorably and liberally.

The above departure for the kingdom of Castile was in the year '22, when his imperial majesty bestowed upon him the title of Marquis of the Valley, made him lord of 200,000 vassals and governor and captain-general of New Spain.[15] In addition to this title he was granted the twelfth part of all he might discover, conquer, or win, with the right to give Indian towns in encomienda everywhere.[16]

Concession to Narváez

His majesty, in order to escape the great importunity of Pánfilo de Narváez, who prosecuted the marquis in lawsuits with much determination and care, thereby preventing the reward of his own services and those of Diego Velázquez, named him governor and captain-general of La Florida and the Rio de Palmas, with a rich army of six hundred picked soldiers and gentlemen of high standing.[17] He accepted this favor with the proper gratefulness and departed with his large army of showy and brave people.[18]

Loss of Narváez's party

Since Florida was very poor in population and provisions, and owing to the bad government and mismanagement of Pánfilo

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[14]The emperor received Cortés at Toledo after his return from Germany. Merriman, R. B. *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, III, 510 ff. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 307 ff.

[15]As already noted above Cortés did not go to Spain till 1528. The patents granted him by the emperor were signed July 6, 1529. *Ibid.*, 308, 309.

[16]Cortés was granted twenty-two towns, and the encomiendas already given were confirmed. That was all the emperor conceded in this respect. *Ibid.*, 313.

[17]Narváez's patent was issued December 11, 1526. Lowery, W. *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1531-1561.* 173.

[18]He sailed from San Lucar, Spain, June 17, 1527. *Ibid.*, 174.

de Narváez, his people and army were lost.[19] Some drowned in poorly constructed boats, others starved till they were reduced to cannibalism, and others were lost in boundless shipwrecks which decimated them till only four were left. They were:

The four wanderers

Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, a gentleman of great courage, piety, and esteem, a native of Jerez de la Frontera, son of Francisco de Vera and grandson of Pedro de Vera, who conquered the Canary Islands. His mother was Doña Teresa Cabeza de Vaca.

Captain Andrés de Orantes de Carrión, a very deserving, pious, and brave gentleman was another. He was a son of Pablo de Dorantes and Beatriz de Carranza, and a native of Béjar de el Castañar in Old Castile.

Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, a Christianlike gentleman of high quality and worth, a native of Salamanca, son of Doctor Castillo and Doña Aldonza Maldonado.

And Estevanico, a negro of the Arabian nation from Azamor, the slave of Captain Andrés de Orantes de Caranza.

Wanderings and shipwreck of Vaca and companions. News of Cíbola

By His divine grace and will, God our Lord permitted them to cross from the seacoast of Florida to the South Sea at San Miguel de Culiacán, and on to the city of Mexico.[20] On that journey and pilgrimage they suffered strange and unbearable shipwrecks, and hardships of many kinds. They spent ten years[21] covering 2,000 leagues of remote land of different nations with unlike languages and customs, as is told in the book entitled, *Naufragios de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca.* He and his companions notified the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the marquis Don Hernando Cortés of the many different

[19]Narváez landed at Tampa bay in the spring of 1528. Striking into the country he was soon disillusioned regarding its rumored wealth. When he reached Apalachee bay some crude boats were built in which to escape to Mexico. *Ibid.*, 177 ff.

[20]They reached the city of Mexico on July 24, 1536, where they were entertained by the viceroy Mendoza and by Cortés. *Ibid.*, 209.

[21]Only eight years were consumed in their "hike" from Florida to Mexico.

provinces, peoples, languages, having different ways and modes of living.

The viceroy and the marquis aroused

Thus the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza became interested in the discovery of those lands of which he had been informed. With the approval and consent of the royal audiencia and the ministers of this kingdom, he sent an expedition to verify the discoveries and the report given him of the region toward the north by the four lost ones. This was carried out by Fray Marcos de Niza of the order of San Francisco.

Orantes' services

To serve as his guide and interpreter went Estevanico, the negro of Captain Andrés de Orantes de Caranza. The latter was very much displeased to have him serve the viceroy Don Antonio and did not wish to give him up for the five hundred pesos which the latter sent him by a third person on a silver tray. He therefore let him serve the viceroy, in the name of his majesty, without any remuneration, for the sake of the well-being, profit, and benefit which would thereby come to the souls of the natives of those provinces, and for the interest of the *real hacienda.*

The route to Cíbola; Fray Marcos reconnoiters and returns without Estevanico

Fray Marcos de Niza set out for the discovery of Cíbola in the year '35,[22] by way of the provinces of Mechoacán, Guadalajara, Chiametla, Culiacán, and the valleys of Señora and Corazones, until he reached the province of Líboro, which was later called Cíbola by the Christians. It is five hundred leagues from this city. He found these provinces settled by well behaved people, dressed in well woven cotton blankets.[23] They live in houses of four and five stories. They use, sow, and harvest much maize, beans, and calabashes. They share and enjoy a great number of woolly cattle,[24] leather goods made from their hides, tents, footgear, droves of dogs and turkeys. He informed him-

[22]Fray Marcos left Culiacán March 7, 1539. Lowery, *op. cit.*, 264.
[23]*Mantas.* The word is uniformly translated *blankets* in this work.
[24]The buffalo were regularly called cattle by the Spaniards and the term is so rendered in this narrative.

self from the natives of those provinces regarding the nations and peoples who lived in the environs of those districts. When he had been informed, instructed, and satisfied of all pertaining to the journey he returned by way of the same provinces as when he entered, but without Estevanico, who was killed by the natives of that land. In this martyrdom died the poor negro after his many wanderings.[25]

Niza reports riches; effect of the report

When Fray Marcos arrived at the city of Mexico he announced that he had seen and discovered a large number of provinces, towns, riches, and seven famous and populous cities, greater and better than those of this kingdom of Mexico. He said that the natives who owned them were well organized and orderly, moderate in dressing and eating and in all things of everyday life. All this caused the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza,[26] the marquis Don Hernando Cortés, and the settlers and dwellers of this kingdom of Mexico great greed and eagerness.

Claims of Cortés

On account of this news and the avarice and restlessness of his friends, the marquis determined to conquer and win the new discovery and its districts. By proper means and mild words he requested the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza to favor him with the patent granting him the expedition to conquer the Seven Cities of Cíbola. It was obvious and clear to him by legal title that his majesty had given him the twelfth part of all that he might discover, conquer, or win, in remuneration of his merits and services.

Reply of the viceroy to Cortés

The viceroy replied that the land and conquest which he claimed had been discovered by his own industry and by agree-

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[25]For an interesting account of Estevanico's exploits and of how he met death, see Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 83-86.

[26]As early as 1537 Mendoza had asked the king for permission to take part in enterprises of discovery, and now resorted to force to prevent the marquis from reaping the advantage of the friar's reports. He seized the vessels which Cortés had prepared, but in spite of his vigilance Francisco de Ulloa managed to set out from Acapulco in some of Cortés' boats. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 424-426.

ment with the royal audiencia through Fray Marcos de Niza, in the name of his royal majesty; that Cortés' titles and grants, as his warrants stated, consisted of all that he might have discovered, conquered, and acquired through his personal expense and efforts. Therefore he had no right or just title to what he asked for and the conquest of Cíbola would belong to him. He said that he wanted to send the gentlemen to conquer, subdue, and colonize it. The viceroy and the marquis held lengthy discussions in regard to which one of the two should carry out the expedition and bring about its conquest. However the viceroy decided that he did not care to grant it to him. For this reason the marquis was displeased, peevish, and hostile toward the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza.

The Marquis goes to Spain; Visitador Sandoval

It was on this occasion[27] that the marquis Don Hernando Cortés went to the kingdom of Castile to complain to his imperial majesty of this offense which he felt was given him by the viceroy, and to ask for a *visitador* against him. Owing to this and other things which happened in New Spain his majesty and the royal council sent Tello de Sandoval[28] as visitor-general and executor of the new ordinances[29] in the kingdom to the detriment and loss of its conquerors and settlers. This situation was overcome by the prudence of the viceroy and the appeals and efforts of the municipality and of the residents of this city of Mexico.[30]

Reasons for the expedition; origin of the Mexicans

As a result of this it appeared that the first and principal reason for desiring the discovery and journey to the provinces

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[27]In 1540. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 58.

[28]The licentiate Francisco Tello de Sandoval was a member of the Council of the Indies. He reached Mexico in 1544. *Ibid.*, 63.

[29]The New Laws of 1542 and 1543 placed the Indian upon an entirely new legal status. The most important provisions of these laws were that encomiendas could not be inherited, additional encomiendas were not to be granted, and churchmen and royal officers were to give up their holdings. *Ibid.*, 62-67; for the New Laws in full, see Stevens, H. and Lucas, F. W. *The New Laws of the Indies for the Good Treatment and Preservation of the Indians, promulgated by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, 1542-1543*. London, 1893.

[30]The publication of the New Laws caused such a storm of protest that the most objectionable features were revoked in 1545. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 522-527.

of Cíbola was the fact that the marquis had found the chronicles, hieroglyphs, and pictures among the ornaments and treasures of the powerful king Montezuma, which explained the origin, foundation, stock, and coming to these kingdoms of the Culguas and ancient Mexicans. The second reason and occasion was the departure, journey, and report of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, who gave an account of the settlements of the region to the north. The third was the inventions and deceptions of Fray Marcos de Niza, causes for greed, who stated that there were large numbers of Indians, towns, and riches of gold and silver in those Seven Cities.

CHAPTER III

Dealing with the journey, discoveries, and events in the lands bordering on Cíbola, and with the information gathered by the expedition.

HE NEWS that Fray Marcos de Niza announced and discussed in this kingdom of Mexico in skilful manner and style was of great power and effect.[31] In a short time he had aroused the cupidity of most of the settlers and inhabitants of the kingdom. They paid no attention to the *repartimientos* of Indians which had been allotted them by chance, but wished to better themselves by participating in the treasures and riches which he maintained existed in the Seven Cities of Cíbola. For this reason they asked the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the marquis Don Hernando Cortés to conquer and settle them. The majority of the settlers volunteered for the expedition. Each one in particular claimed to favor his party [Cortés'] and he showed greater friendship for them.

When the marquis saw the great eagerness and importunity with which his friends supported him, that he had not been able to obtain his desire, and that the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza had not granted his request and claim, he decided to go to the kingdom of Castile to obtain it from his imperial majesty.[32] He did not succeed in this as the members of the royal council[33] were opposed. They considered it especially improper to give him the expedition as he and the viceroy were not on friendly terms. They knew that this would give rise to increased enmity and hatred between the friends and supporters of both parties. While matters were in this condition the marquis died,[34] and thus the litigation ended.

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[31] "Friar Marcos de Niza's account of the cities of Cíbola, . . . set all New Spain by the ears with hope of sudden undreamed of wealth. . . ." Priestley, *op. cit.*, 57, 58.

[32] See note 27.

[33] That is, the Council of the Indies.

[34] Cortés died at Castelleja de la Cuesta, near Seville, December 2, 1547. MacNutt, *Letters of Cortés*, I, 66.

In order to carry out the expedition the viceroy held a council of war with the judges of the royal audiencia, and obtained the opinions of leading citizens and learned men. From this council and these opinions the following selections were made:

Francisco Vázquez de Coronado as captain-general and governor of the Seven Cities and of what he might discover, conquer, and pacify. He was empowered to allot the pueblos and *repartimientos* among the conquerors who went with him and among those who might go to settle in those provinces. He was a gentleman who had the essential gifts and merits, well qualified for such duties. Before this expedition he was governor of the new kingdom of New Galicia.

Lope de Samaniego, resident, *regidor*, and warden of the arsenals of the city of Mexico, a gentleman having all the required qualities and virtues, as *maeso de campo*.

Don Tristán de Arellano, a gentleman who possessed all the suitable merits and qualifications, as lieutenant-general. He was later commander of the expedition to Florida.[35]

Don Pedro de Tovar, a very brave, worthy, and generous gentleman, as captain and *alferez mayor* of the army.

Don Rodrigo Maldonado, Juan de Saldívar, Hernando de Alvarado, worthy and well qualified gentlemen of much esteem, as captains.

Antonio de Rivero de Espinosa, Luís Ramírez de Vargas,[36] competent and deserving gentlemen, as *contador* and *factor* respectively of the *real hacienda*. Antonio de Rivero first held that position in the city of Mexico.

Juan de Galeas, a virtuous soldier, as *alguacil mayor* and *aposentador*[37] of the expedition.

Paladinas, a good soldier, as *alguacil* and warden of the prisoners of the army.[38]

Six hundred good and picked men were chosen, the majority from the chief nobility of New Spain, a quantity of provisions of all kinds, many horses, cattle, and sheep, as well as a quantity of arms, and munitions in abundance for a good and well

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[35]Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, who conducted an unsuccessful expedition to Florida in 1559-1560. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 130-133.

[36]Cuevas has it Bargre. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 18.

[37]An *aposentador* is one who finds lodgings for the soldiers.

[38]This line is omitted by Cuevas.

equipped army. It was organized, embellished, and provisioned, all in readiness for war.

After this faultless preparation of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, he [Coronado] departed with the expedition, going as far as Compostela, where he ordered and arranged that a parade and review should be held. There were present the governor Cristóbal de Oñate, the *factor* Gonzalo de Salazar, Pedro Amildes Cherinos[39] the *veedor*, Barrios, *comendador* of the order of St. John, learned in holy theology, and many other gentlemen, residents and conquerors of that city and province. The aforesaid review was carried out with fine order, harmony, and a display of trappings of great value. With the same order, uniformity, and rejoicing, the standard, the royal insigne of the army was shown. Hereupon the viceroy and the remainder of the nobility took leave of the general and the people who were going on the expedition. After having issued and ordered proclaimed ordinances of great accord and equity for a just war, he commanded, by authority from the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, that they should be obeyed.

The soldiers who accompanied the viceroy departed, and Francisco Vázquez Coronado's army marched through very hot lands,[40] full of rocks, mosquitoes, and crags, till the province of Chiametla was reached. Here it happened, unfortunately, that Lope de Samaniego, who had gone ahead of the army to quiet the people and to secure provisions of maize for the expedition, was killed in a town up the river of Chiametla in the presence of Juan Jaramillo and his soldiers. They shot him with an arrow which pierced one of his eyes. He was buried on the bank of that river. On account of his death Don García López de Cárdenas, a gentleman of much valor, was chosen to occupy the position which he had held as *maeso de campo*.

In this province some wornout cattle were left, which the governor Francisco de Ibarra later found in increased numbers.

From this province the expedition continued on its way to

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[39]Cuevas has Almindez Cherinos. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 18. Castañeda gives the names of some of the others who were present. See Winship, G. P. "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," in Bureau of Ethnology, *Fourteenth Annual Report*, Part I, 477.

[40]The Coronado expedition left Compostela in February, 1540. *Ibid.*, 382.

the province of San Miguel de Culiacán,[41] which Nuño de Guzmán conquered and settled. From here they marched by way of the rivers and provinces of Petlatlán, Cinaro, Maxon, Cíbola,[42] and those of Señora and Corazones, where the governor Francisco Vázquez Coronado established a town for the security of the persons who must go to and come from the provinces of Cíbola. He founded the said town with a hundred and some settlers, leaving Diego de Alcaraz as its captain and *justicia mayor*. This town was attacked and leveled by the natives owing to certain causes which I will state in the proper place.

The pueblos of Cíbola; maça que macilona que quina acin co cana

From this province and the valleys of Señora the army marched by way of Chichilti Calit[43] through remote, deserted, and mountainous lands until it reached Cíboro, which is five hundred leagues from the city of Mexico by this route. The distance is shorter by way of the mines of Santa Bárbara. Here [in Cíbola] they found seven pueblos[44] of three- and four-story houses, enclosed and walled in, as if belonging to a belligerent and warlike people. It is located opposite large numbers of the unmanageable people.

From Cíboro the expedition continued toward the Tibuex river,[45] which is eighty leagues from Cíbola, called Cíboro by the natives. On this river of Tibuex they found established, clustered on both sides of the river, a number of pueblos with houses of lesser height. In these two provinces they found a quantity of cotton blankets, cowhides, shields, native birds, maize, beans, and calabashes.

Between Cíbola and Tibuex and the distance covered by

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[41]Culiacán was founded in 1531.

[42]Instead of the words *Maxon* and *Cíbola* Cuevas has *Majonabola*. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 19. Cíbola is clearly correct, but what is meant by the other word is doubtful. Cinaro seems to be the name Sinaloa.

[43]This name, and the names of the pueblos of Cíbola given in the subheads, are given exactly as in the manuscript without capitalization. For the location of Chichilti Calit, see Lowery, *op, cit.*, 465, 466.

[44]Of the seven Zuñi pueblos we have the names of six. They are: Hawikuh, Matsaki, Kiakima, Halona, Kwakina, and Kechipauan or Kyanawa. See Hodge, "The Six Cities of Cíbola, 1581-1680," in *The New Mexico Historical Review*, I, 477-488.

[45]The Rio Grande.

Francisco Vázquez Coronado they discovered a pueblo[46] in a deep valley, on top of a large, bare, and elevated rock, three-fourths of a league in circumference and fifty *estados*[47] in height. It was very strong and of strange shape and size. Those who ascended its summit affirm that it has a beautiful and level location, settled with five hundred three-story houses, more or less, and that it appeared to have five hundred warriors. The pueblo has, on its site and settlement, fields of maize, beans, calabashes, tobacco, and cotton. There are also wells and reservoirs. The natives have everything necessary for their wants, even raising food and weaving clothing on their stronghold. Thus they need not have recourse to aid from other places.

Although surrounded by enemies this causes them no embarrassment or harm, nor are they inconvenienced if their descent is taken, because they are supplied with everything necessary, and fortified on this strange and remarkable citadel. Nevertheless some of the ancient discoverers say that they found an ascent for people on horseback behind the rock. This is a strong pueblo and the most noteworthy of any seen in all the Indies. Besides the fact that the houses cannot be harmed or attacked from below, the tunnel to blow it up must be made through hard rock, broken with difficulty, and for this a quantity of powder is necessary.

The ascent and descent is very extraordinary since it is found in an inconspicuous part of a cliff which rises to within two *estados* of the top of the rock. In order to ascend or descend from the top of this cliff holes have been made in the rock. On account of this only one at the time can go up or down. Thus it cannot be taken or subdued from the side of the ascent under any circumstances. All of this was clearly pointed out by the five soldiers who, with great difficulty and hardship, went up to the pueblo where they were well received by the natives. This strong pueblo is called Acuco. It was first seen and discovered by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. Those who visited it next belonged to the party of Francisco Sánchez Cha-

[46]The sky pueblo of Ácoma.
[47]An *estado* measures 1.85 yards.

muscado. Antonio de Espejo's men were the third ones to see it.[48]

Pueblos of Tibuex

In the province of Tibuex were found twelve pueblos, not including two others situated toward the southeast, each containing one hundred settlers and separated about six leagues from the others. According to what I have experienced, fathomed, and learned from the discoverers it seems that the settlements mentioned by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado's men are these on the Tibuex river, because Coronado's followers state that Acuco, the strong pueblo, is fifteen leagues from the Tibuex river. Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado's party called this the Guadalquivir, province of San Felipe. The companions of Antonio de Espejo affirm that this river Tibuex is fifteen leagues from Acuco and fifty from Cíbola. Thus it is proved that these are the settlements formerly discovered by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado.[49]

Width of the Tibuex; Cicuic, Coronado's best discovery

From this Tibuex river, which is said to be four hundred paces wide, the army marched toward Cicuic,[50] the best and the most populous of the pueblos discovered by Coronado and Antonio de Espejo. It is situated on a high and narrow hill, enclosed on both sides by two small streams and many groves. The hill is bare of trees. Half a league beyond the pueblo are many groves of cedar, pine, and oak. The entrances are on the east and west sides. This pueblo has the greatest and best buildings of those provinces and is most thickly settled by clothed people. They possess quantities of maize, cotton, beans, and

[48]In 1581 Fray Agustín Rodríguez and Chamuscado organized an expedition which explored in New Mexico. Two years later Espejo followed with a small party to rescue some friars who had remained in the country from the former entrada.

[49]Obregón is laboring to show that the places discovered by Chamuscado and Espejo were really the same as those visited by Coronado. It seems obvious, but at the time he was writing it was believed that Coronado did not come near New Mexico. See this volume, note 81. Obregón himself falls into error when he says: "The reason that Coronado did not strike New Mexico was that he left it on his right hand, forty leagues from the river Tibuex, more or less, and from the strong pueblo of Acuco." See page 26.

[50]The pueblo of Pecos. Cuevas gives it as Cicuil. His copyist almost invariably has mistaken the "c" for an "l".

calabashes. It is enclosed and surrounded by a palisade, large houses, and by rows of walks which open out to the country. Here they keep their offensive and defensive arms, bows, arrows, shields, lances, and clubs [macanas].[51] On the shields are painted some red crosses resembling the Taos insigne.[52]

This pueblo of Ciquic[53] could not be reduced to peace by force of arms or by the rigor of siege and assault, though it was attacked by artillery for eighty days.[54] Nevertheless it showed in its courage little fear of death and less of starvation. The natives of this pueblo resisted the vigorous assault of the Christians with such fervor that they compelled them to agree to leave them their pueblo and land like valiant and indomitable people.

Plains of the cattle

On account of this resistance and because the army had to continue on its way, the general ordered the expedition to proceed. They continued the journey six days. At the end of that time they came to the plains of the cattle, which are said to extend over four hundred leagues. The plains are very strange and unusual; neither mountains, hills, nor highlands of any kind are seen. There are no landmarks for finding one's way through the land, the place from which the start may be made, the way if the route is changed, or if one moves about from place to place. In these plains the compass is as necessary as if one were at sea. The risk of traveling without a guide has been tried with fatal results. It happened that some soldiers went hunting and failed to return. They did not have any landmarks to enable them to find their way to the point of departure

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[51]The *macana,* translated club rather than sabre, was "a flat blade of wood three or four feet long, and three inches broad, with a groove along either edge, into which sharp-edged pieces of flint or obsidian were inserted, and firmly fixed with some adhesive compound." See the Maudslay translation of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain,* I, lvii.

[52]The *tao* was an insigne worn by the knight of the order of San Antonio Abad and by certain dependents of the order of Saint John. It was in the shape of a "T".

[53]See note 50.

[54]Castañeda tells a very different story. He states that when Don Tristán with forty companions went in search of Coronado the people of Cicuye came out to fight, but that they were punished in four days. Winship, G. P. *The Coronado Expedition,* 511.

from the camp, from which meanwhile the army left for settled lands. The result was that nothing more was known of them, neither whither they had gone nor whether they had been killed.

The abandoned city of Uraba

It [the army] found itself by the river Uraba[55] near the snow-capped sierras. They saw and discovered a great deserted city with large houses and buildings of four and five stories, fallen and in ruins, walled in and enclosed as if belonging to a warlike people of great wisdom. It appeared to the discoverers that it must have been settled by over 40,000 Indians in its day.

The cattle

The plains are filled with a great number of cattle[56] of small stature, although fat and thick skinned. The bulls are big with large neck, head, and chest; thus there is suspended from their throats a notable girdle of flesh and skin. The horns are big and black and the eyes large, so that they look more ferocious than the cattle of Spain. They are bearded and run fast like boars. When wounded they stop, although the wound may not be mortal. They are woolly and possess a quantity of tallow. For this reason the wool can be used for making clothes and the hides for footgear. The meat is delicious and more wholesome than that of the cattle of Spain. Most of the cattle are black and the others nearly so. They breed and multiply in large numbers. They were seen throughout over six hundred leagues from Florida to these plains,[57] not counting those provinces toward the sides which have not been discovered or explored. In their beginning and natural state these plains are lacking in water, stormy and extremely cold. However those bounded by mountain ranges are not so cold, and have water, better pastures, and a mild climate.

The vaqueros; droves of dogs

In these plains dwell the coarse, vile, and wicked Querechos,

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[55]Jaramillo mentioned a pueblo called Uraba which has been identified with Taos. *Ibid.*, 587. Obregón's Uraba is not the same, however.

[56]See note 24.

[57]Cabeza de Vaca wrote of the buffalo: "They come as far as the seacoast of Florida, from a northerly direction, ranging through a tract of more than four hundred leagues." Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 68.

the *vaqueros*.[58] They imitate the gypsies in having little stability or permanence of location. Ordinarily they go from one place to another, taking with them all their property, loaded on droves of dogs the size of the large mastiffs of Castile. They equip them with pack saddles of cowhide and load their leather tents on them. They almost imitate the villagers of this country. These dogs carry the tents, poles, and other implements; likewise the household goods, supplies, meat, and foodstuffs in quantities of almost four *arrobas*.[59] They have many of them. These dogs do not howl like those of Castile. They only threaten, show their teeth, and growl. They are muzzled in order that they may not eat the meat which they carry. Each dog travels three or four leagues with a load.[60]

Eating of raw meat

The sustenance of these *vaqueros* is the meat of the cattle. Most of them eat it raw or dried by the sun and fire. They support themselves by hunting deer, hares, rabbits, and other kinds of game, reptiles and wild things. Their ordinary and constant habitat is in the lagoons, salt water holes, rivers, and streams frequented by the cattle. This brackish water and the little grass fattens them [cattle] so that their meat is fat and much like that of hogs.

The gypsies go naked. The women wear overskirts of cowhide and deerskin. The men wear some skins, narrow at the waist, with which they cover their privy parts.

The expedition set out from these plains [61] and marched till the end of May. At their termination camp was pitched one day when the sun looked like burning fire. There came heavy clouds loaded with water, and hail the size of large oranges. This brought a terrible and furious storm which caused such fear and consternation that it compelled the army to repair to shelters and made the horses and those who were caught outside of the camp flee. Had they not been stopped by a great

[58]The Querechos were most likely the plains Apache, especially those subsisting on the bison. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 338, 339. The word *vaquero* is often used interchangeably, and merely indicates that they followed the buffalo.

[59]The *arroba* is about 25 pounds.

[60]Compare Castañeda's description in Winship, *op. cit.*, 527.

[61]Coronado left Tiguex on April 23, 1541. *Ibid.*, 395, 580.

ravine obstructing the flight owing to its enormous height, had they not encountered this obstacle, the recovery of the horses would have been very doubtful. The soldiers would have run great danger by the loss of the horses and both horses and soldiers would have perished in the depths of the gorges and plains. On account of the great size and quantity of the enormous hail which fell during the storm and caused terrible havoc it happened that not an earthenware vessel was left which was not broken to pieces, no tent which was not destroyed, nor a horse which was not bruised, wounded, and covered with swellings all over its body.[62]

Departure of the general

The general traveled for two days from this ravine with fifty horses and with the two guides called Turco and Isopete. He left as substitute and lieutenant of the remainder of the army Don Tristán de Arellano. The expedition continued on its way in search of Quivira, and the rest of the army returned to the river Tibuex by a different route.[63] There it awaited its general.

Distance covered by Coronado

Meanwhile the latter went to Quivira, four hundred leagues from the river Tibuex, the plains being filled with cattle as well as with a *vaquero* and gypsy-like people. The result was that the expedition of Francisco Vázquez Coronado, from the city of Mexico to Quivira, traversed some nine hundred leagues of lands different from each other, containing different languages and customs and made up of mountains, plains, and lands with different climate. From Tibuex to Quivira it marched directly forward.

Tovar finds Tuzayán

From Cíbola toward the northern border the captain and *alferez mayor* Don Pedro de Tovar went about forty leagues to investigate and explore. At the end of that distance he discovered

[62]For Castañeda's description of the same event, see *ibid.*, 506.

[63]In the spring of 1541 Coronado set out with his entire force, but after reaching the plains went on ahead with a small party, Coronado said thirty men, and Arellano was sent back to Tiguex with the rest of the army. *Ibid.*, 395, 396; 580, 581.

the river and settlement of Tuzayán which Antonio de Espejo called Mohoce.[64] This river, as Don Pedro de Tovar and Antonio de Espejo told me, is very well settled by clothed people, owners of good houses, cotton, maize, beans, and calabashes. It is an orderly people. They enjoy good, temperate lands, forests, and water.

Exploring north from Cíbola

The *maeso de campo* Don García López de Cárdenas went to discover and investigate on the other border of Cíbola toward the slopes of the south. He traversed seventy leagues of strange lands which could not be crossed on horseback. However he passed a great and deep ravine having a slope of three leagues which he tried to descend, searching for a pass for over forty leagues, but he could not cross it.[65] It is firmly believed that the Tizón river, which enters the bay of the South Sea and which they say has a mouth three-fourths of a league wide, has its source or bed in this cañon.

The Tizón river; its discovery

This river had been reached and explored by Marcos Ruiz de Rojas and by Alarcón[66] with two ships by order and mandate of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza.[67] His armada set out to discover it in the year '40,[68] completely provided and properly equipped with everything necessary to aid and be of assistance to Francisco Vázquez Coronado's army in its undertaking. With these two boats Alarcón took possession of the bay and river of Tizón in the name of the imperial crown. He set up a cross in a large cave and at the foot of it buried a bottle with letters and instructions concerning the voyage and discovery which he had made. These were later found and dug up by Melchior Díaz, a captain from Nuño de Guzmán's territory, who, by order of

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[64]The Moqui pueblos, now called Hopi.

[65]This was the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. The journey from Cíbola was northwestward, not south.

[66]His name was Hernando de Alarcón. See Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, (1904) IX, 279.

[67]Mendoza sent Alarcón and Rojas to co-operate with the Coronado expedition. Alarcón commanded the *San Pedro* and Rojas the *Santa Catalina*. They set out, probably from Acapulco, in May, 1540. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 90.

[68]In August and September, 1540. Winship, *op. cit.*, 403-406.

Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, had gone to see and explore this river.[69] Here he was killed by his own lance in trying to avoid the death of one of his dogs after whom he had hurled it. It pierced him near the thigh.[70] They called this great river the Tizón because the natives cross it, in spite of its width, on a great raft made of agave. On this they cross paddling with their feet and carrying a lighted torch in their hands in order to keep fire on both sides.[71]

Waste land at the Tizón river

Melchior Díaz went up this river fifty leagues. He found the country sandy, windy, and full of great sand dunes which move repeatedly from one place to another. The strong and constant winds make them grow or decrease to big or small dimensions. Thus necessity and the danger of being lost compelled him to return. He was a deserving and well qualified captain.

Rams as large as horses; large goats

In this river were found sheep horns measuring over a *vara*[72] in length and as thick as one's thigh. In shape and appearance they resemble those of Castile. The natives affirmed that they were of sheep as large as horses. They likewise found a quantity of these horns on the journey of exploration to New Mexico on a ranchería of the Indian nation, the Tatarabueies.[73] The wool of these animals is like that of sheep, common and somewhat coarse. They saw goats the size of Peruvian sheep [74] on the mountain crags.

This river and land is extremely warm, with very deep and terrible ravines. The coast is rough and narrow from border to border, very sandy, full of strange, ugly, and thorny trees

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[69]He came from San Gerónimo, founded by Arellano in the Yaqui river valley.

[70]See Castañeda's account of his death, in Winship, *op. cit.*, 501.

[71]In regard to the custom of carrying a firebrand Castañeda related: "On account of the great cold, they carry a firebrand in the hand when they go from one place to another, with which they warm the other hand and the body as well, and in this way they keep shifting it every now and then. On this account the large river which is in that country was called Rio del Tisón (Firebrand River)." Winship, *op. cit.*, 485.

[72]The *vara* measures about 33 inches.

[73]The word appears as Tarabucies in Cuevas' *Obregón*, 25. These Indians were the Patarabueyes, or Jumano, of Espejo.

[74]The llama.

and covered with rugged mountains. However the land farther in the interior improves as the climate in those regions grows better.

Arrival at Quivira; news of the land beyond

After the general had marched four hundred leagues with the army he inquired about the unknown things, the people, and the settlements of those and more remote regions. The Turk explained that there was a great river which was settled by many people who had canoes, clothes, gold, and provisions. He was not believed since his descriptions and accounts of new lands had been found untruthful. Nor did he and the other guide whom they called Isopete agree in their statements and opinions. In his information the Turk had mentioned settlements in Quivira located on the right hand side of the regions toward the north.

Location of settlements

The settlements of these lands and discoveries are very distant and widely separated. They extend down to the plains over which the cattle roam.

Return from Quivira; fall of the general; his return

The general returned from Quivira[75] with his army, marching by ordinary stages until he united with his force on the Tibuex river. Here unfortunately he fell from his horse. From this fall, say the veterans of his company who were present, he gradually declined. His good judgment and leadership began to fail and was the occasion for his determination to leave the land he had discovered and which he could have settled. Others say the cause for this decision was that he had left his beautiful wife, children, and his property in the city of Mexico. Some captains, royal officials, and gentlemen obstinately opposed the return at great risk. But he did not wish to relent, and thus he returned to the city of Mexico with his army.[76] He went by way of the provinces, valleys, and rivers as when he entered as far as Mexico city. He had one hundred soldiers, some servants

[75]Coronado's Quivira is usually located in central Kansas. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 101.

[76]In 1542.

and friendly Indians, a smaller number than that with which he had set out from the city of Mexico.

Certainty of lands

That which I found and with which I wish to serve your majesty in this chapter and account is that I have found, learned, and verified where, how, and in what land and provinces, parts and places the new discovery of the provinces of San Felipe of New Mexico[77] is situated; how many leagues there are from these new lands to the provinces and settlements discovered by Francisco Vázquez Coronado in Cíbola, Tibuex, and the other establishments of large houses, so that there may be no doubt of its true verification.

I found it very true and certain that the pueblo which Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado's men, discoverers of San Felipe of New Mexico, and those who were with Captain Antonio de Espejo, call Ácoma,[78] was discovered by Francisco Vázquez Coronado. This pueblo is located and settled on top of a remarkable, large and very strong rock. It is fifteen leagues from the towns of San Felipe of New Mexico, in the region west of the river and province of Tibuex. Accordingly the settlements of Cíbola, Tucarán, and Cicuic[79] are close together and whether fifteen, thirty, or eighty leagues apart, so situated that they will be of use to the colonies which the Christians may found. The new explorers assured me that they saw this pueblo which is called Ácoma and that it is fifteen leagues from the river, so that although they called it San Felipe it is proven that it is the river of Tibuex which Francisco Vázquez Coronado discovered. Thus discoverers, both ancient and modern, saw it, and they bear out what is contained in this narrative in which your majesty may be interested. Moreover the conquerors who go to subdue and settle those provinces in your royal name may thus be advised

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[77]New Mexico seems to have been called by that name for the first time by Antonio de Espejo because of its resemblance to old Mexico. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 165.

[78]The pueblo of Ácoma, 357 feet high, is situated about sixty miles west of the Rio Grande in Valencia county, New Mexico. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 10.

[79]Cuevas has *Cíbola tucaran cica y ecetan*, which is followed by an absurd explanation. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 27. See note 50. Tucarán (Tuzayán) is the Hopi country.

how far the settlements of Tibuex are from each other and will more easily recognize them by their names when they get there.

News of the Salado river

The return of their general greatly offended the soldiers of Coronado's expedition. They desired to know the secrets of that great land and its termination in the sea, especially because there had been indications and speculations that they had approached the great river Salado and the North Sea where it was considered certain that the strait of the cod, which extends toward Ireland, was located.[80] The discovery of this strait and coast has long been desired in order to make the voyage to Spain from it and to learn about the nations and peoples who inhabit its lands.

This land of Quivira is as cold as Ireland. Its location is in the same latitude, though a few degrees lower. It has the same cattle. Its coasts are cold. It is believed that they are near each other, or at least communicate in some way. If this strait and coast are discovered it will be very important for your majesty and Spain because of the trade of those lands and provinces, and because the voyage will be shortened. The reason that Coronado did not strike New Mexico[81] was that he left it on his right hand, forty leagues from the river Tibuex, more or less, and from the strong pueblo of Acuco.[82]

Good reports of new lands

I have investigated and certified from old discoverers and from accounts and records which I have read regarding all the lands in the Indies, islands, and mainlands, from the strait of Magellan to Quivira and New Mexico, which include almost three thousand leagues of contiguous lands, that there are no discoveries, provinces, or settlements with such good houses, lands, climate, and metals as those parts; there are no such extensive

[80]The reference is to the mythical strait of Anian which was supposed to furnish an easy route through the continent to the Pacific.

[81]Bancroft points out that in a few years after Coronado's journey everyone seemed to have forgotten where he had gone. Gómara (1554), Espejo (1582), Benavides (1630), and Mota Padilla (1740), seemingly had no idea that Coronado had been in New Mexico. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 70.

[82]Ácoma.

lands, none with so abundant provisions of cattle and maize or with such great expectations as that which has been discovered and those which are to be traversed, discovered, and explored.

Wealth of metals

Nevertheless it is true that the natives have not mined silver or gold in those provinces, because they did not know their value, nor had they ever used them. It is unquestionable that the greatest quantity of metals in all the Indies is found in that mountainous range and its extensions. If they [the natives] had appreciated the value of these metals in the same way as they did copper, which they have mined, worked, and cast into beautiful designs and figures, they would have been much richer people than those of other parts. They would have used these metals with greater benefit, as they are of higher value. All that has been observed in this land is five small bags of silver in grains which the natives presented to Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca.[83] Other persons were seen wearing bells of low grade gold brought from distant lands for barter.[84] These bells are held in great esteem by the natives.

These lands are cold, provided with fine water, mountains, plains, and valleys, abundant and suitable for all kinds of grains and cattle. This does not include those regions which are far from the mountain ranges nor those beyond the places frequented by the cattle. All this has been ascertained by experience. Those who travel in the plains should prepare themselves for the return by leaving landmarks of rock or dung of the cattle at certain intervals in order to get back safely, provided they do not have guides.

The best route to Cíbola

It is known that the distance from Mexico to Quivira is much shorter by way of Santa Bárbola. If Coronado had gone that way he would have eliminated bad roads and hot lands,

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[83]Vaca's own narrative says: "And having welcomed us with great festivity and rejoicing, they brought out and presented to us what they had concealed. These were beads, ochre, and some little bags of silver." This occurred while they were traversing the plains of Texas. See Cabeza de Vaca's account in Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 92.

[84]*Rescate* is the word.

although they are more destitute of population in the north. The march to Cíbola, Quivira, Tibuex, and other nearby provinces must be made by way of Santa Bárbola, equipped with everything necessary, arms, horses, and supplies, until New Mexico and the plains of the cattle are reached. Thus the danger of the poisonous herb of the valleys of Señora is avoided.

CHAPTER IV

Which treats of the rebellion and uprising of the natives of the new kingdom of New Galicia;[85] and how the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza punished and reduced them to the service of the imperial crown of his majesty.

Assembly and rebellion of the natives

AFTER the dispatch and departure of the expedition which the general Francisco Vázquez Coronado brought to conquer and settle the pueblos and provinces of Cíbola new discussions and disturbances occurred and the news secretly transmitted from one to the other among the natives of the cities and provinces of Mexico, Mechoacán, and New Galicia. [They felt]that the opportune time for them to rise, revolt, and fall upon the Christians, in order to drive them from their lands, was while they were divided, some having gone on the said expedition. This they determined upon, and it was carried out at the same time in each city and province.

Beginning of the revolt in New Galicia; murder of friars and encomenderos

As a result of this restlessness, conference, and agreement the natives of the kingdom of New Galicia, the province least settled by Christians, commenced to carry out their evil intention. They are the boldest and most indomitable people, crafty and skilful in the practise and exercise of war. They began to put their plan into effect without order, coordination, or cause, since the first clash was caused by certain cases of drunkenness in the valley of Tlastenango and at Tevlan[86] where they killed their encomendero and friars.[87]

The fear of punishment which the natives knew their crime merited infuriated them and drove them to rebel and fortify

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[85]The Miztón war, 1541, 1542.

[86]Cuevas has *Tlaltenango* and *Teul.* Cuevas, *Obregón*, 31.

[87]Bancroft states that the conflict began when the Guaynamota and Guazamota Indians killed their encomendero Juan de Arce. *Mexico*, II, 493.

themselves on the strong peñol of Miztón.[88] On this account they procured everything necessary for the defense of their persons, wives, and children. [They did this] in order to support themselves and realize their evil intention, considering it certain that the strong and high peñol would be their defense and protection. On this rock the biggest part of those in the kingdom who had revolted awaited the battle. They all assembled and brought with them everything of value which they had in their houses and fields. But as the Divine Will did not permit the evil and harm which they had proposed and discussed some of the allies did not revolt.

Cristóbal de Oñate goes to punish the rebels

To relieve this situation and to punish the rebels, Governor Francisco Vázquez Coronado's lieutenant Cristóbal de Oñate, who had remained as substitute in his absence, set out with the soldiers and settlers from the city of Guadalajara, which at that time was a *villa*. The said Cristóbal de Oñate was chosen and appointed because he was a deserving and highly qualified gentleman. Fully provided with soldiers, arms, munitions, and supplies he set out with his army to punish the rebels, marching in good order and with well formed plans. He arranged his force so as to lay siege to the people entrenched on the strong peñol.[89]

Fighting begun; victory over the Christians

Although the army was brave, imposing, and strong it did not inspire the natives with the fear of death, for, moved by the infamous lures of the devil their spirits were strengthened with great fervor. Thus they gave battle to the Christians with wild impetus and brutal courage, pouring countless arrows, stones,

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[88]The conspiracy, although affecting most of New Galicia, centered about Miztón, Nochistlán, Acatic, and Cuiná (the Acatlán and Coyná of Obregón). Here the capable Tenamaxtli was in command. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 491.

[89]The story is somewhat confused here. Oñate, realizing the seriousness of the revolt, first made an attempt at reconciliation. In April, 1541, he sent Captain Miguel de Ibarra with about twenty-five Spaniards and some Indians to reconnoitre. He found the Indians entrenched on the peñol of Miztón. The Indians, confident of success, hookwinked Ibarra by peace negotiations, then attacked him with the result here described by Obregón. *Ibid.*, II, 493, 494.

and spears upon them with the strange and loud clamor, the impetuosity, the courage and bravery of beasts, moved by infernal diligence. The result was that in a short time they broke the strong resistance and gallant effort of the Christians, much to their own safety and advantage. They had killed and wounded, and despoiled the strong and brilliant Christian army of the victory.

Plunder of the Christian camp

The wild and disorderly army rejoiced and celebrated with the music of drums, flutes, and conchs, so that it seemed the day of the last judgment. Some busied themselves in plundering, others in dancing, and others in following the victory by pursuing those who unfortunately were retreating. For this reason the latter could not unite nor reorganize to resist the barbarous rage [of the natives]. On the contrary each one fled wherever luck or good fortune directed him. This victory was the reason that the natives of the other districts of the entire province rose and fortified themselves on this and other peñoles.

Alvarado to the rescue; second engagement

At this time Don Pedro de Alvarado arrived from the province of Guatemala with his armada of good ships, soldiers, arms, and supplies. His expedition was going to the Philippines. He anchored in the port of Navidad in the South Sea.[90] While in this port he heard of the uprising and, with most of his people, went to the aid of the city of Guadalajara where he united his army with that of the general Cristóbal de Oñate in the year '40.[91] The two captains set out with this combined force to punish those who had rebelled and had fortified themselves on the strong peñol of Nuchiztlán. This was the second peñol to revolt and it brought about the second encounter with the Christians. This took place in May of the same year.

The Christians attacked; Alvarado's death

Prepared and supplied with arms, horses, and everything necessary for a very brilliant and well provided army the gen-

[90]In August, 1540. He then went to Mexico to confer with the viceroy, after which he returned to New Galicia in June, 1541.
[91]It should read 1541. See previous note.

eral, thus equipped and employing proper tactics, besieged the rebels.[92] In the expedition were many gentlemen of rank, among them Diego de Ibarra, a knight of the order of Santiago, Don Luís de Castilla, likewise of the order of Santiago, Captain Miguel de Ibarra, Juan de Saldívar, Don Pedro de Tovar, and many other gentlemen. The peñol could not be reduced at that time although the general made great efforts. This caused him to withdraw to the city of Guadalajara. The enemy believed that this was due to the weakness of the Christians. Thus they sallied forth after them with great daring, killing and wounding some Christians as far as the bad crossing at Yagualica, where it happened that a secretary's[93] horse fell. It came rolling down to the bottom of the ravine with great speed and fury where it collided with Don Pedro de Alvarado. The fall and encounter crushed and hurt him so badly that he died from it in a short time. His death was keenly felt by all, both because of his bravery and worth as well as because his presence was so necessary at the time.

War pact of the natives

On account of this second uprising and victory of the natives over the Christians, the others who had remained undecided, neutral, and vigilant, deceived by their blind faith and trusting that the devil, whom they adored as god, was favorable to them, determined to rebel and revolt. In a general assembly of all the rebels from the whole province of that kingdom they decided to go and besiege the Christian army in Guadalajara. This was done with the support and cooperation of all in the province who had revolted, and of the remaining peñoles.

Fight between Christians and natives; the church burned

Four months later in this same year, on the eve of Saint Michael, this league and war pact and the determination of the natives became known. It was likewise learned that they were fifteen thousand men, as the Christians later guessed in their calculations. They came supplied with the necessary arms and provisions. All this was done heedless of the harm which might

[92] Alvarado sets out with his own army, scorning the aid of others in the venture.

[93] Alvarado's secretary, Baltasar de Montoya.

befall them. They came with such fearful boldness that their siege and attack occurred in the daytime.[94] They arranged and divided their army into four parts, as if they were skilful captains schooled in Italy. This onslaught was not unexpected. Therefore precautions were taken by a selected council of war to ward off the harm which was awaited. Everywhere careful defenses, spies, and sentries were provided. Each day news of what the natives were doing and planning was brought by [friendly] Indians who went back and forth. The former, excited and boldhearted, stimulated by the wine and strength which the devil and his deceit afforded them, entered the city,[95] venting their fiery and ugly wrath by burning the church in the middle of the day. They surrounded the army and city and compelled the general to select some mounted men, commanded and led by Captain Iñigo López de Uncibai [to face the foe].

Victory in the skirmish

Thus they set out for this fight, forty gentlemen, chosen troopers. They skirmished with the battalions of the enemy with perfect order, boldness, bravery, and gallantry. The result was that during the four hours which the siege and battle lasted the league and alliance was defeated, and the first victory of the Christians in this rebellion was sung. They killed, subdued, and routed the hostile Indians, who were so badly beaten that those who managed to escape with their lives considered themselves fortunate.

This victory was won by the Christians with such little sacrifice that only one of their number died out of two hundred who were engaged. The battle lasted from the middle of the day till four in the afternoon. At that time the soldiers who had won the laudable victory withdrew. As it was such a famous triumph and worthy of praise and remembrance I did not wish that the names of such brave gentlemen should be buried or forgotten. These men were: Captain Iñigo de Uncibai; Antonio Sotelo de Betanzos; Juan de Alvarado; Galván Escobar; Bartolomé Rodríguez de Fuenlabrada; Juan Lozano; Raba Martín;

[94] Cuevas says *dina* for *de dia*. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 33.
[95] Of Guadalajara.

Miguel de Ibarra, captain of fifty men; Agustín Guerrero; Juan de Saldívar; Rui López de Villalobos; and Juan de Mendoza.

Death of seven hundred enemies

The above were thanked for their commendable and valiant fight and victory of forty soldiers over fifteen thousand enemies. It seemed, according to their calculations, that they killed seven hundred foes, an achievement worthy of the praise and gratitude of your majesty and the people, and of being forever kept in reverent remembrance. Their indebtedness to the soldiers is due to so deserving and inestimable an accomplishment, because their deeds resulted in the reduction and pacification of the natives of that kingdom without risk to the people.

The viceroy gives aid; his army

On the day of this battle the viceroy left the city of Mexico[96] to punish the rebels and to relieve the settlers of the city of Guadalajara, from whom he got news of the past encounters and defeats. He arrived at that time determined to reward the enemy for their victories over the Christians. He came with a splendid, imposing, and well equipped army, made up of six hundred brave and gallant gentlemen and soldiers and sixty thousand Indian allies from Mexico and other neighboring cities and towns, striking people, organized and supplied with everything necessary.[97] They went with great courage and desire to distinguish themselves by the revenge and destruction of the victorious rebels.

Lake Chapala; river Toluca

With this well organized and harmonious army the viceroy began his journey, going by way of Mechoacán until he reached the Río Grande which flows into the lake of Chapala. Here he stopped with his army to spend a few days. They got a quantity of canoes from the villages near the lake, in which the baggage, people, and horses crossed. This lake is larger than the

[96]The dates differ, but September 22 or 29, 1541, are probably about right. See Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 505 note 16.

[97]The chroniclers vary greatly in the estimates of the viceroy's forces. Bancroft says there were about 450 Spaniards and some 30,000 Tlascaltec and Aztec warriors. *Ibid*, II, 505.

one by the city of Mexico. The river rises in the valley of Toluca.

First clash at Acatlán

From this river, which was crossed twice, the viceroy went to besiege the peñol of Acatlán. In that siege he began to punish the uprising of the poison-minded heathen. He besieged and routed those entrenched on the strong peñol of Acatlán, which was fortified by fifteen hundred Indians.[98] Inspired by the devil and past victories which the others had won, they showed boldness at his bravery. For that reason they dared to wait and resist the great power and punishment which came upon them. The desire for plunder, which they expected to enjoy by a third victory, deceived them. This first peñol was taken in four hours with no Christians and but few Indians killed.

Peñol of Coyná; Oñate and viceroy meet

From this place the army went to the peñol of Coyná which was quickly routed without any noteworthy occurrence. After subduing the peñol of Coyná, the viceroy passed with his army to the strong peñol of Nuchiztlán where he found Cristóbal de Oñate with his people and companies.

Camp pitched at Nuchiztlán

The viceroy's camp was laid out with proper order and strategy. He had the artillery placed facing the enemy. He entreated those in rebellion to accept peace, promising to pardon the delinquent if they would surrender peacefully. This they did not accept but replied with unusual, stupid, and disorderly behavior. He pointed out to them through the interpreters the dangers which they incurred and the punishment he would inflict on them if they did not wish to avoid it.

Notable battle

These entreaties were continued for ten days. After that time and after many threats and shouts from the rebels the viceroy decided to give them battle with all the rigor possible.

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[98]Obregón has evidently reversed the proper order of events. The viceroy first reduced the peñol of Cuiná, and then Acatic, without difficulty. *Ibid.*, II, 506, 507.

For that purpose he brought his army within gunshot of the enemy's peñol. He ordered mass to be said in which all should commit themselves to God our Lord and ask Him for aid and victory over their enemies, that He might free them from the danger in which they were putting themselves. He had the artillery discharged against the enemy during the mass. This caused great havoc in their midst and in the fortress to which they had trusted the defense of their lives.

The battle; casualties

When the mass was over the enemy were attacked in daring assaults by artillery and men so that the rashness and slaughter on both sides lasted the whole day. During that time the enemy killed twenty Christians and there were many wounded. The Christian combatants routed, subdued, and killed a large number of Indians.

Victory of the Christians; flight of the enemy

Thus the victory was ascertained, sung, and celebrated by the Christians. So many advantages were realized that they took the strong peñol. Not an Indian remained who did not flee or throw himself headlong from the great height and rocky portion of the fortress, preferring to die rather than to fall into the hands of the Christians.[99] These acts were inspired by the industry of the devil whom they obeyed.

Two companies sent with the Tenamaz

When he had conquered and leveled this peñol the viceroy and his army marched to the mountains which are between the peñoles of Nuchiztlán and Juchipila. There the Indians, having heard of the destruction of Nuchiztlán, did not dare to wait, but departed. Here the viceroy stationed his army and sent Miguel de Ibarra, captain of forty men, with the Tenamaz[100] to talk of peace with the Indians entrenched on the strong peñol of Miztón. A deep ravine separated the two parties and across

[99]The prisoners were condemned to slavery by the viceroy, but Ibarra, who was the encomendero of the district, allowed them to escape. *Ibid.*, II, 507.

[100]His name is spelled Tenamaxtli by Bancroft and Priestley. He had led the Indians at Nochistlán, and was now putting up a last stand at Miztón.

this they discussed the conditions of peace. The enemy and the Christians were at such a distance that although they could not harm one another, they could hear the arguments of both parties. These conferences were many but led to nothing whatsoever.

Tenamaz jumps from a precipice

After these exchanges the Tenamaz threw himself enchained as he was down the precipice of the cliff, and because the Christians considered it impossible for him to escape with his life they left him for dead. Afterwards he revived and appeared alive among those entrenched. He performed this act bravely and encouraged by those who were on the peñol, who promised they would defend him. He was captured in this battle.[101]

Tenamaz besieges the two companies; a battle

Through the ingenuity of the gallant and warlike Tenamaztli they [the Christians] were attacked at their camping place in these mountains by four large squadrons. These he placed in ambush, concealed. Although there were reports of them, the two companies who gave battle were put in difficulty. There was so much confusion and danger everywhere that the two companies were on the point of being annihilated. Although some Christians were wounded none were killed. Of their adversaries many were wounded and killed. These two companies reached the camp located at Juchipila where they took care of the wounded and rested several days.

Siege of Miztón

From this place the army, with all the companies, went up over mountains and rough ridges toward the peñol of Miztón till it reached this place. Camp was located and pitched one-fourth of a league from the peñol. It could not be placed any closer because of the ruggedness of the mountains. The enemy was routed without battle or bloodshed. The guilty were punished in an unusual way, for ten of them [Indians] were blown up by an artillery shot. It seemed an act of cruelty.

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[101]The siege of the peñol of Miztón lasted over three weeks. This defeat broke the resistance of the Indians. *Ibid.*, II, 508.

Siege of peñol Esteul

From here the viceroy sent Captain Pedro Martín de Chirinoya and the *maeso de campo* Agustín Guerrero with their soldiers to besiege the peñol of Esteul.[102] When the entrenched Indians heard the two companies they fled. At this peñol the two captains awaited their general, and having united their companies with his army marched "into the valley below seeking the enemy who might be living there. The army marched"[103] through the lands and towns of those provinces restoring those who had revolted to peace and quiet. All this was done with noteworthy prudence, peace, and harmony without having recourse to harshness, punishment, or shedding of blood or any unusual occurrence of which account should be given here. [The army] continued until it reached the pacified lands and the city of Guadalajara. Here it was divided and the gentlemen and soldiers taking part in the war and in watching and guarding disbanded.

When he [the viceroy] had punished the rebels and reduced those in the provinces and neighborhood of the new kingdom of Galicia to peace and order with much equity and care and with the wise judgment of the chief gentlemen of his army, he charged all the settlers to preserve peace and harmony and to treat the natives properly and preserve peace among them. This was a deed of great esteem and the viceroy, captains, officials, soldiers, and others who took part in this laudable service for the royal crown of your majesty deserve remuneration. The viceroy left some companies and gentlemen for the protection and defense of the settlers of Guadalajara.

From this place, after having taken leave of the gentlemen and settlers of the kingdom, he returned to the city of Mexico.[104] He was received with great solemnity, rejoicing, and feasting even though this occasion was preceded by distressing news of the rebellion in the kingdom of Peru in a letter from de la Gasca,

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[102]Bancroft states that the warriors of Teul joined those on Miztón and proposed a general sortie. When this was refused they tried it alone, but shot their arrows into the air and surrendered to the Spaniards. *Ibid.*

[103]Cuevas omits the part in quotation marks. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 37.

[104]In 1542.

who sent to ask for aid against those in revolt.[105] The viceroy Don Antonio, with much care and solicitude, prepared to send the aid which was asked of him. He provided a large number of people, arms, munitions, and other necessities and appointed his son Don Francisco de Mendoza as general for the said purpose. Thus was equipped and made ready the best and most brilliant army of the city of Mexico.[106] A parade and review was held of this army, including a display of all the equipment. This brought out many select and fine trappings. After the said aid had been prepared news came from de la Gasca that he had reduced the kingdom to the service of the imperial crown of his majesty and that he had taken and punished the guilty ones. He held Don Francisco Pizarro[107] prisoner, whom he hanged. This expedition was given up, as it was unnecessary, and they then turned to celebrate the two victories over the rebels of New Galicia and Peru.

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[105]Peru was in the throes of civil war, the Pizarros versus the Almagro faction. In 1542 the situation was further complicated by the revolt of Gonzalo Pizarro against the enforcement of the New Laws. That insurrection cost him his life. Bancroft, *Central America*, II, 245-273; or Moses, B. *Spanish Dependencies in South America*, I, 204-229.

[106]About six hundred men had been prepared under the command of Francisco, the viceroy's son, and Cristóbal de Oñate. *Ibid.*

[107]An error for Gonzalo Pizarro. Francisco met a violent death some years earlier. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, III, 595-602.

CHAPTER V

Which relates how after Don Antonio de Mendoza left for Peru as viceroy Don Luís de Velasco tried to discover the origin, root, and stock, the arrival and the place from which the ancient Mexican Culguas are supposed to have come; and the reasons why the newly found lands have remained unknown.

Meeting of the two viceroys; Mendoza decides on Peru

AFTER the coming of the viceroy Don Luís de Velasco to this New Spain in the year 1535,[108] as its viceroy and captain-general and president of the audiencia and royal chancery, which has its seat there, [people] were sent to call on him and congratulate him on his arrival and on the honors newly granted to both viceroys by his majesty. [They came] with renowned ambassadors, extending courtesies of great honor, and with messages and letters written in befitting terms. In their reply and agreement they [the viceroys] decided to meet in the city of Cholula, twenty leagues from the city of Mexico and two from that of Los Angeles.[109] This meeting was to determine on what they should do and which of the two viceroys should go to rule the kingdom of Peru, since his majesty had left the exchange and choice of the two governments in the hands and power of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza. In order to reserve for himself the opportunity of going to Peru, and in order that he might not be accused of remaining owing to laziness or cowardice, he accepted the journey of greatest hardship and danger; deed and proof that he was an obedient and loyal servant of your majesty.[110]

Reception given the viceroys

Both viceroys were well received by the gentlemen and gentry

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[108]An error, it should read 1550. Priestley, *op. cit.*, 70. Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of New Spain, came in 1535. See Aiton, A. S. *Antonio de Mendoza: First Viceroy of New Spain.*

[109]Puebla.

[110]Mendoza left Mexico in September, 1551. He ruled but nine months in Peru before death overtook him. For an account of his accomplishments in New Spain, see Aiton, *op. cit.*

of this New Spain and the cities bordering on the great city of Mexico. [They were received] with wonderful demonstrations of joy and celebrations involving large expenditures, new features, and remarkable receptions by the natives. Nevertheless all were in general very sad on account of the departure of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza for Peru. In him they lost a brave, devoted, and prudent man and prince who had governed this kingdom with peace and love and in harmony with all. He was like a father to this land which he protected, favored, and augmented by praiseworthy and prudent means.

Mendoza and Velasco confer

After he had determined to go to Peru he discussed with the viceroy Don Luís de Velasco many contingencies and appropriate warnings for the proper and Christian government of this New Spain and its growth in the things relating to our holy Catholic faith among the natives and the increase of the vassals and *real hacienda* of his majesty. Among the things discussed, he [Mendoza] particularly emphasized the means appropriate for new conquests which he [Velasco] ought to adopt, especially for the discovery and explanation of the stock, root, and coming of the ancient Mexican Culguas to conquer this empire and the provinces of Mexico. [He pointed out] methods of shortening long and difficult roads, unnecessary expenses, and advised that the route should be through level lands suitable for the journey. Likewise he explained the recent good news which had just come from persons who had been in the localities and places where it was suspected the Mexican nation had its origin.[111]

Interest of Velasco in discovery

The viceroy Don Luís de Velasco was very much pleased with these warnings and was bent on putting the discovery into practise with the greatest order possible. Accordingly he put it into effect later. He inquired of all the explorers of new lands about the reports which they had received and what they knew of New Mexico.

[111]Such recommendations to new officials became an established and very valuable feature of Spanish colonial administration.

Commission of Luís Cortés; Cortés halted

This information increased the viceroy's desire to carry ou the expedition. Therefore he commissioned Don Luís Corté son of the marquis Don Hernando Cortés, as captain and ex plorer. From this court he went inland toward the north abou two hundred miles farther than other captains had gone. H found the land sparcely populated by naked and wild people wh lacked order and provisions. While he was carrying out th expedition Don Luís de Velasco, viceroy and president of th royal audiencia, sent Juan de Cueva, *secretario mayor* of th government of this New Spain, to notify him [Luís Cortés] o a royal decree by which he was ordered not to go farther inlan nor to continue the expedition entrusted to him, but to retur This was due to the great unrest among the inhabitants an settlers of this New Spain who wanted to follow him, and t other causes which moved them.[112] With additional advic they were induced to send a number of people, some provision and equipment of war to the expedition. It is certain that i Don Luís Cortés had continued his journey in a straight lin he would have discovered the nations who live in houses of grea height called New Mexico, which was discovered by Francisc Sánchez Chamuscado in [15]81.

The journey and expedition was postponed for several year Hereupon there were some further entries by captains and ad venturers to some mines, which produced good news.

Diego Ibarra weds Velasco's daughter

The viceroy Don Luís de Velasco married his daughter Doñ Ana de Velasco, a lady of great quality and esteem, to the gentl man and *comendador* Diego de Ibarra, a native of the kingdo of Vizcaya. He possessed commendable and excellent merit As he was a gentleman of good and prudent counsel and as hi estates were along the route of the journey to the new lands i

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[112]Another version of this expedition is that it was a joint affair le by Juan de Tolosa and Luís Cortés. It left Zacatecas in December, 155 and went inland about fifty leagues in search of mines, visiting Sombreret San Martín, Aviño, and other places. Ibarra had already been over th territory, and the expedition only served to bring back false tales of th wealth of the land. See Mecham, J. Lloyd *Francisco de Ibarra an Nueva Vizcaya*, 60, 70.

the north, he communicated to the viceroy Don Luís de Velasco his determination of carrying out the discovery and conquest of New Mexico by his own means. At that time it was called Copalá. It was agreed that Francisco de Ibarra[113] should serve as the general for its exploration and subjugation.

Debating the expedition

The viceroy was gratified that he [Diego de Ibarra] not only rendered him respect and homage as viceroy, but also obliged him by seeking his advice. He wished him to select his nephew Francisco de Ibarra as his captain, even though there was such a splendid nobility in this kingdom. This likewise pleased him.

Evading the appointment; selecting a general; his commission

Likewise he satisfied him that the expedition was very necessary for the conversion of the idolatrous people in those regions to our holy Catholic faith, and for increasing the vassals and *hacienda* of the royal crown of his majesty. He tried to excuse his nephew Francisco de Ibarra from the appointment which the viceroy wished to grant him, saying that he was too young and lacked the experience and means necessary for an undertaking of such gravity and importance, considering that these two qualifications should precede such a position. Although the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra sent communications excusing his nephew the viceroy gave first consideration to the service which would be rendered God our Lord and the imperial crown of his majesty. In his reply the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra conceded his mandate with kind words and good offers, and constrained him to support his nephew. He did this without fail, fully and faithfully.

With this excellent foresight Francisco de Ibarra was elected,

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[113]Francisco de Ibarra belonged to the nobility. The family, one of the oldest in Vizcaya, had three branches. The first and oldest was in Hergueta, the second in the *villa* of Ybar (or Hivar) in Guipúzcoa, and the third in Durango. His father, Pedro Sánchez de Ibarra, had been inquisitor of Toledo. The father of Pedro Sánchez had served the crown in important positions. An uncle of Pedro Sánchez had been constable and governor of Castile at the beginning of the reign of Charles V. An uncle of Francisco had been inquisitor of Navarre and of the bishopric of Calahorra. Another uncle, Diego de Ibarra, was prominent in New Spain. It was to him that Francisco was entrusted on his arrival from Spain and to whom he owed his education in the city of Mexico. See this volume, chapter XXXVIII, and also Mecham, *Ibarra*, 5, 6.

chosen, and designated captain-general.[114] [He was] a native of the kingdom of Vizcaya, a gentleman of suitable worth and ability. He was given authority, power, and privilege to grant the native villages which he might conquer and settle in encomienda, and in all other matters he was granted full and sufficient power. Accordingly the viceroy Don Luís de Velasco and the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra dispatched his commissions and instructions for the expedition.

Acceptance of the governorship

When he [Francisco de Ibarra] had received them and considered the resources which were necessary, he was in doubt whether or not to accept. Urged by the fact that the commission was bestowed on him by the viceroy Don Luís, whom he had served as a page, and by his uncle Diego de Ibarra, on whom depended the hope of its success, he accepted the appointment, expressing the proper gratitude, without apology. According to his letters and explanations he had heretofore stated that he was not worthy of the appointment given him. But it was deserved. He was a gentleman of ability, prudence, and patience, and qualified for a better position and estate. His deeds, his life, and his habits proved the truth of all this. He always directed his actions to the true and good purpose of God our Lord.

Appointment of officers

When he had invoked His favor and aid, begging Him to direct his good purpose and aim, he [Francisco de Ibarra] began to choose and select the officers of his army.[115] He commenced with Martín de Gamón whom he gave the office of *maeso de campo*. He was the bravest soldier in the expedition. As his *alferez mayor* [he chose] Martín de Rentería, a good soldier;

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[114]In 1562 he was made governor and captain-general of a new province called New Vizcaya. It comprised the unconquered region beyond New Galicia. Bolton and Marshall, *Colonization of North America*, 56; Mecham, *Ibarra*, 102 ff.

[115]The expedition was recruited at Zacatecas and the San Martín mines, about one hundred Spaniards besides many native auxiliaries being enlisted, according to Bancroft. *North Mexican States*, I, 103. According to Obregón one hundred and seventy men composed the force. See page 45. The recruiting probably took place late in the summer of 1562, after Ibarra had received his appointment.

as captains, Don Pedro de Quesada, Andrés de Ibarra, Martín de Arana, good and chosen soldiers; as officials of the *real hacienda,* his cousin Martín López de Ibarra, Bartolomé de Ariola,[116] Juan de Heredia, virtuous Biscayan gentlemen, well qualified for such positions; as his secretaries, Sebastián de Quirós and ———— Lerma, able, qualified, and virtuous; Alonso de la Mancha as *alguacil mayor* of the army. He selected one hundred and seventy good soldiers, most of them Biscayans, who had made good in this *gobernación.*

Provisioning the army

The *comendador* Diego de Ibarra provided the camp fully with everything necessary, arms, munitions, horses, iron for horseshoes, clothing, and cattle; everything very proper and sufficient for all. He always maintained and supported them with whatever was necessary, and with his good and prudent industry, kept them in peace and harmony, consoling them in their necessities and hardships and curing their ailments.

Blessing of the flag; military regulations

With this excellent selection, and supplied with all that was necessary, as a good general, he took in his hands a very brilliant and handsome standard of blue damask, embroidered and worked in gold and silver. On it was designed the image of Christ our Lord and that of His blessed Mother, and its borders contained letters and devout words in gold. Cords and tassels of gold and silk adorned it and at the ends the royal arms; all of wonderful and elegant design and workmanship. With great solemnity, rejoicing, celebration, music, firing, and a large following they carried it to the church at the mines of San Martín. With much solemnity and that of the church the priest here blessed it and the general delivered it to his *alferez* Martín de Rentería.[117] Later when the appointments and necessary things, the arms, clothes, and horses had been distributed, he ordered proclaimed the decrees and instructions which the viceroy Don Luís de Velasco commanded should be observed. All were of

[116]Cuevas has *de Cariola.* Cuevas, *Obregón,* 42.

[117]This ceremony at the mines of San Martín evidently took place in January of 1563. Obregón is in error in placing it in April, 1564. See page 47.

much Christian equity, well planned for war and the method of procedure in war. He always caused them to be heeded, fulfilled, and executed with great prudence, piety, and care. There was always agreement and Christian purpose in their origin and results.

CHAPTER VI

Which tells of the departure of the governor and his army; how he took possession of his *gobernación* in the name of the imperial crown; and of the services he rendered.

Uncle and nephew part

AFTER the army had been provisioned, decorated,[118] and organized, which was accomplished by the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra and his nephew Francisco de Ibarra at great expense and effort, it left the mines of San Martín in the month of April, [15]64.[119] This was the place where it had been prepared. Uncle and nephew took leave of each other with great affection, and with offers from the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra for his nephew and the rest of the army, promising to aid and support them with everything which they might need for the prosecution of the journey. On taking leave he likewise gave his nephew righteous and commendable advice which the latter accepted and promised to obey. Its effect was recognized by his accomplishment.

Mass to the Holy Spirit; ceremony of taking possession

The army continued to march in good and careful formation with vanguard, main body, and rear guard, well arranged and distributed according to good practise and the method of marching in enemy lands, until it reached the beginning of the territory of his *gobierno* and charge. Here a mass was said, addressed to the Holy Spirit whom all asked for aid that everything be directed to Its holy service. After the mass he took possession in the name of his imperial majesty with much solemnity, pomp, and many records drawn up by the secretaries. When he had taken possession, he made a laudable and very Christian exhortation to the members of the expedition, urging

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[118]The word is *adorno*, and refers to the elaborate flag ceremony described in the last part of chapter V.

[119]Ibarra's commission was issued in July, 1562, and his expedition, recruited in Zacatecas and elsewhere, left San Martín on January 24, 1563. Mecham, *Ibarra*, 113.

that every one of them as good and loyal Christians and servants of his royal crown should contribute with truthful accomplishments and appropriate deeds to the service of God our Lord and the imperial crown of his majesty. In their reply they promised the obedience and loyalty necessary as good Christians and loyal soldiers of your majesty.

Security of settlements and mines

One of the most useful and most important things for the increase of the royal fifths, the peace, harmony, and safety of the miners of Zacatecas, San Martín, Chalchiguites, Aviño, and of the other mines, villages, farms, and estates of the neighboring miners and traders, was that which the governor Francisco de Ibarra brought about in reducing and making safe the surrounding districts. He pacified and punished the rebels and enemies who harmed the people in their occupations, farms, mines, settlements, and on the roads. He reduced them to peace and harmony by good and pacific means, without shedding of blood, in the name of the imperial crown of his majesty.[120] All this was of increasing utility and advantage for the *real hacienda* and the welfare of the miners and traders.

Foundation of two towns

The second thing of great importance and no less praiseworthy, was to provide order and facilities that there might be supplies in abundance and at moderate prices in those settlements, provinces, and surroundings. For this purpose he founded two towns in places where they would be able to communicate and trade with each other and sell them the provisions from their harvests and villages. These he founded, calling the one Nombre de Dios and the other Durango.[121] He laid with his own hand the foundations and built the first structure of the churches as an example for the members of the expedition, and that all should work willingly. This they did and later they finished them with the help of the natives.

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[120]Before going to his new field Ibarra visited Nombre de Dios, Aviño, San Lucas, Valle de San Juan, Peñol Blanco, Valle de Guadiana, and claimed that these settlements lay within his jurisdiction. *Ibid.*, 114 ff.

[121]Nombre de Dios and Durango were founded late in 1563, before Ibarra crossed the Sierra Madre into Sinaloa. Bolton and Marshall, *Colonization of North America*, 56; Mecham, *Ibarra*, 121-123.

Distribution of towns and lands; chiefs baptized; mines

These two towns and the surrounding lands have fertile plains, meadows, and river basins with plentiful streams, and can be cultivated or used for all sorts of cattle. He furnished them with farmer-settlers and gave them *repartimientos* of villages, ranches, and farming lands. He set up a system of justice and administration in them; reduced the neighboring Indians to peace without engaging in battle or shedding of blood. He instilled order, justice, and good habits in them, and had the leaders and chiefs baptized. By this opportune prevision and these good acts he subdued and placed these towns in the service of the imperial crown of his majesty. He caused the mines of Coneto, Indehe,[122] Mazapil, Charcas, San Andrés, and others, from which a great quantity of silver has been extracted, to be discovered and settled. He greatly increased the fifths due the imperial crown of his majesty. All this could not have been accomplished by the governor Francisco de Ibarra and his soldiers without the help, protection, and support of the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra. Had he not supported these enterprises it is certain that the entire *gobernación* of New Vizcaya would have been abandoned and depopulated.[123] This would have resulted in loss to his majesty of the interests in mines and tribute which he has in these provinces.

In this conquest and pacification he [his majesty] did not spend any revenue nor did any of his judges take part in its subjugation and reduction. He [his majesty] found these towns and this *gobernación* conquered and brought under his imperial crown without paying a salary to any captain or soldier. He [Ibarra] did away with the abominable massacres, cannibalism, and other bestial vices and sins to which those unmannerly idolaters were subjected and addicted. He bound them to the union of our holy Catholic faith. For all this they are entitled to and deserve the appreciation and gratitude of all people.

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[122]Regarding the opening of these mines, see *ibid.*, 127 and 188 ff.

[123]Diego de Ibarra reported in 1582 that he had given over two hundred thousand ducats to his nephew in the conquest of New Vizcaya. Diego de Ibarra to Juan de Ledesma, November 10, 1582, in Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto to 1773*, 115.

CHAPTER VII

Which deals with the discovery of Tôpia; the uprising and insurrection which took place among the leaders of the army; the robberies and killings of horses; and some encounters with the natives.

Establishment of a fortress

AFTER the governor Francisco de Ibarra had restored peace, order, and quiet among the towns, provinces, districts, and surroundings of the mines and settlements of his *gobernación* he decided to continue marching with the army as far as the Valle de San Juan,[124] fifty leagues from the town of Nombre de Dios. Since that was an ample and suitable place to attain and put into effect the purpose of the expedition, he ordered that a good fortress be founded and built in order that from it they might go and bring the Indians to peace, and punish the cannibal highwaymen who infested those frontier mountain ranges, robbing, harming, and killing the miners, traders, and travelers and their slaves, servants, properties, and cattle.

Reply of the Caribs; stealing of the horses

They were presented with entreaties of peace and concord and offers of friendship that they might be brought over to the service of God our Lord and the imperial crown, but it did not satisfy the desire of their vicious and bestial life, for they were obstinate and addicted to it. In reply they sent some people making many fierce threats and menaces of death in case the governor did not evacuate their lands. These were put into practise by force of arms with great harm to the property and lives [of the soldiers]. At first they spied the camp, and without

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[124]Valle de San Juan, which served as headquarters for a time, was probably situated near San Juan del Rio. Writing on May 26, 1563, the viceroy reported that Ibarra with about one hundred men had discovered two fertile valleys, San Francisco and San Juan. In the latter he had been told of Copalá, a rich province, which was not far off. "Relación de lo que descubrió Diego [Francisco] de Ibarra en la provincia de Copala, llamada Topiamé. . . ." *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XIV, 553. The events described in this chapter occurred in 1563.

being heard by the soldiers, safely stole, drove off, or killed two hundred and fifty horses, the larger number of which were later recovered with great hardship.

News of Tôpia; samples of gold and silver

At this time some natives brought information of the town of Tôpia, which is in the midst of the rough mountain range on the southern slopes,[125] from which they had brought and exhibited a feather shield of many colors and much charm; a feather crest of silver; and cotton clothing woven of twisted thread, which the natives acquired by exchange from the people of Tôpia.

Departure for Tôpia

Eager to discover those towns, he [the governor] sent out Salvador Ponce with four soldiers.[126] They wandered many days hungry and tired through very rough, cold, and desolate mountains until [they came] to a plateau of great height from which they could perceive the inhabited part of Tôpia. They returned to give an account of this to the governor, who provided twenty picked soldiers and as many guides for its discovery and exploration. The latter promised that they would take the captain and soldiers [there] in ten days. He sent the *maeso de campo* Martín de Gamón as leader of this expedition.[127]

Deceit of the devil

He and his force marched several days more than promised by the guides through very rugged, frigid, and forsaken mountains, sometimes over a path by which they go to Tôpia, at other times circling hills, mountain ranges, and deep ravines, or going over mountains of terrible darkness and mountainous

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[125]Tôpia was on the headwaters of the Culiacán river in the vicinity of the present Tôpia.

[126]Mecham believes that Salvador Ponce's trip never took place, as Obregón mentions his arrival from Mexico a little farther on in the narrative. See page 54, and Mecham, *Ibarra*, 117, 118.

[127]It is possible that Obregón is in error in regard to Gamón's scouting expedition, and that it was actually made by Martín de Rentería. The latter, with twenty men and five or six Indian guides, marched about thirty leagues through a mountainous land and then seized the guides and made them confess that they were trying to lead the Spaniards astray with the intent of killing them. Thereupon Rentería punished them *conforme á su delito*. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XIV, 556, 557.

thickets. Since they wanted to get there and the devil wished to prevent the natives from becoming Christians, he had recourse to the expedient and artifice of his deception and illusion.

Mistreatment of the guides; they are hanged

Thus the *maeso de campo* and his soldiers understood that the guides were leading them with the evil intention of delivering them to their enemies that they could kill them. For this reason they [the soldiers] persuaded the *maeso de campo* to punish the guides. Moved by the deceit and blindness of the devil and the persuasion of some soldiers, he vexed the guides with threats and imprisonment.[128] They freed themselves from this confinement, determined to defend their lives and kill the Christians. They would have done so if they had had their bows. Using whatever they could find at hand, they defended themselves until soldiers, with difficulty, hardship, and risk, apprehended them. The *maeso de campo* Martín de Gamón hanged them unjustly, unchristianlike, and without cause. They were hanged from a beautiful, blooming, and fruitful tree. At once it showed the crime of the unjust death of the guides, manifesting it by divine and miraculous permission. After they were hanged the green wood and fine leaves dried up in a marvelous way worthy of remembrance and admiration.

Gamón's jealousy

On account of this deed and offense to God our Lord, He allowed dishonor, haughtiness, and misconduct to fall on Martín de Gamón, who had become hardened in the abominable sin of envy, because the governor had left Martín de Arana as his substitute and lieutenant in the valley of San Juan.[129] Martín de Gamón tried to discredit the expedition for revenge on the governor, whose position he wanted to usurp. He found fault with the land in order that the soldiers should abandon and leave the army. Moved by his bad intention, he [Gamón] caused some

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[128]The "Relación" says they were tortured. *Ibid.*, XIV, 557.

[129]While these incidents were going on at San Juan the governor was away exploring. As the party marched toward Guatimape, an Indian woman told them they had been deceived and that she would direct them to Topiame, and it was then decided that Ibarra with forty men should follow her. He discovered some mines at Valle de Sant Maria (San Matias) and Valle de San Jerónimo. "Relación . . . de Ibarra," in *ibid.*, XIV, 557, 558.

gentlemen in the army, among them Don Pedro de Quesada and Andrés de Ibarra, to be dissatisfied and of the same evil mind. They made common cause with Martín de Gamón.

Arana summons the loyal

When the lieutenant governor Martín de Arana saw the harmful dissension which was raging in the camp and the mischief which might occur if this danger were not forestalled, he rallied to the flag with the royal standard in his hand, saying in a loud voice that the servants of his majesty should come to the flag, because it comported with his royal service. Not only did Martín de Gamón, Don Pedro de Quesada, and Andrés de Ibarra not wish to obey this statement and order which Martín de Arana had given, but, moved by hatred and jealousy, became enraged and increased their guilt by offensive and disrespectful words. They replied to his command with disdain, with contempt for his person, and with disguised threats.

The mutiny punished; Gamón imprisoned

When the governor came he remedied this situation with great courage and sense of justice by banishing them. He subdued and punished them by imprisonment and exile. However Martín de Gamón did not wait for sentence. He absented himself from the prison in which he was and continued to increase his crime by disparaging the prestige of the governor and the expedition. With more premeditation and action than Martín de Arana in working for good, he employed rude incivilities worthy of punishment. All this came to the notice and knowledge of the governor, who seized him together with fourteen soldiers from the mines of San Martín who were in his company.[130] He brought him to his *gobernación* where the case was arranged, criminal charges formulated, and he was condemned to death. The sentence was executed after he had been prepared to die Christianlike. The governor was forced to impose this penalty for the sake of right and justice.[131] He and the

[130]Other accounts say he was accompanied by twelve comrades, who were noted as criminals. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 103.

[131]The sentence was approved by the viceroy. Gamón had meanwhile escaped to San Martín, but was brought back to suffer for his misdeeds. *Ibid.*

members of the army were much depressed because he [Gamón] was a very brave soldier.

Arrival of Betanzos, Ponce, and del Rio; election of a maeso

At this time Antonio Sotelo de Betanzos came from the city of Mexico to serve his majesty.[132] Together with him came Rodrigo del Rio, Salvador Ponce, Hernando Ramón, and other good and picked soldiers. From these men and the whole army the governor resolved to select and choose a *maeso de campo* in a council of war. With this counsel and the approval of all Antonio Sotelo de Betanzos was selected. He was a gentleman who possessed all the necessary qualities and merits and in particular very capable in waging war. He accepted the appointment with the proper acknowledgment and gratefulness, promising to hold and fulfill the office with the fidelity, diligence, and care which, as a good *maeso de campo,* he owed the service of his imperial majesty and the governor.

Arrival at Guatimape; stealing of horses

After having restored harmony and peace to the force which had been in rebellion and having chosen a *maeso de campo,* he ordered [him] to punish and reduce to peace those guilty of stealing and killing the horses. He supplied his army with a reinforcement of soldiers, arms, and provisions, of which they had fallen short. With this preparation, he continued to march with his troops until they reached the valley of Guatimape.[133] Although forewarned and on their guard due to the past thefts and losses and though having a sentry and a cavalry guard, they were here robbed of several horses, including the governor's. He decided to inflict the punishment which the Indians deserved for the past thefts and effrontery. Leaving the *maeso de campo* as he did to guard the camp, and with the necessary preparation and caution in the army, he ascended the mountain at night in

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[132]Writing on June 5, 1566, Betanzos said he had spent two and a half years on the frontier. See his letter of the same date to the king, A.G.I., 59-4-3. This would place his arrival there about November or December, 1563.

[133]Guatimape is on the railway between Durango and Tepehuanes, west of San Juan del Rio.

good order until he arrived at its summit. This was thickly populated with marauding Indians, cannibals, whom he routed while they were eating breakfast. This victory cost them some dead and wounded, whereupon they divided and scattered without order or military plan. Since he did not find the stolen horses, he decided to retire to the camp in order to throw them off their guard and to catch them unawares. Moreover [he did this] because he got trace and information of the place where they had hidden the loot and where he would find it.

Recovery of the horses; a battle—Christian victory

Soon after his arrival he furnished the *maeso de campo* with some good picked soldiers, among them Rodrigo del Rio and Salvador Ponce; all were well provided with everything necessary and in readiness for battle. With this good provision he marched over the rugged height of the sierra until he arrived at a deep ravine. Here all dismounted, routed the enemy, and recovered the loot which the latter had taken. They were unsuspecting and confident of their hiding place. They [the soldiers] left the horses of their force under guard and then descended with great effort and difficulty until within gunshot of the enemy, by whom they were heard, and on seeing them in the distance took to arms. With deliberate courage, effort, and boldness the *maeso de campo* and his soldiers attacked them, [the former] shouting: "Santiago, after them!" The good and chosen soldiers routed them by the fire of the harquebuses although they defended themselves with great courage, shooting many arrows in a short time. They realized the advantage the Christians had over them and, terrified, sent their women and children on ahead and retired to the sierra above, taking its roughness for their stronghold and shelter. At this place they faced the enemy. However by means of the harquebuses they were broken up, defeated, and demoralized until compelled to come down from the elevation to the ravine where it was so craggy that it was impossible to fight. They were left thoroughly punished and warned in case they should return to steal horses.

Loera's sword

As they [the Christians] could not find the way out and did

not know how the Indians got them there, they let the horses take the lead. By this means they found a passage, as the horses led them out of the ravines and crags of this ridge where they had been hidden by the natives, guiding them over the path by which, though with great difficulty, they had been brought in. In this profound sierra, in a ranchería, they [Christians] found the sword of Loera, a brave soldier who had been killed previously when fighting the Indians.

Cause of the native revolt

The occasion which prompted the natives to become disgusted and to steal the horses was that the peace and truce which had been promised them was broken. Accordingly the *maeso de campo,* Father Pablo de Acevedo, Salvador Ponce, and other soldiers went to persuade and reduce the enemy to peace which they refused to accept.

The *maeso de campo* followed a path over which he and Salvador Ponce had gone and at a short distance they found it deserted although the sierras were full of enemies. A soldier named Amador López discovered a deposit of corn hidden in a small gorge, and although there was no lack of supplies, the *maeso de campo* decided to take it to the camp and keep it for use in time of need. Thus it could be defended from the enemy in case they should want to carry it away. Consequently when Father Pablo de Acevedo arrived at the place where the *maeso de campo* was, the latter notified him of his determination. For this reason he let him return hastily to the camp, giving him an escort, in order that he should at once send aid to relieve them of the great danger in which he left them among such a large number of enemies. These could be seen around the sierra hurriedly calling and encouraging one another to come down and attack them. After the departure of the friar he [the *maeso de campo*] caused some of the harquebusiers who had remained to dismount; the horses were taken away from the rolling ground and placed where the enemy could not shoot arrows at them and where the grain supply could be defended.

War imminent; the foe loses heart

With this precaution and having encouraged the soldiers and promised that the one who fought most valiantly would be given

silver bugle which could be worn suspended from the neck, le *maeso de campo* and four mounted men remained on a plain ose to the ravine, in order to engage the enemy who must come ıt of the gorge. When the enemy, ready to come down, saw le *maeso de campo* supported by so few people, they came, furi-ıs, joyful, and swift. However on lifting their eyes, they could erceive the aid which the governor was bringing. For this eason they did not dare to come down. It was fortunate that le *maeso de campo* and those who were with him escaped this nger, especially because of his determination of engaging ith that multitude of Indians, as the numbers on both sides ere uneven.

ruce made by the Christians

When the governor arrived such good order was effected that a short time he induced some of the leaders through the inter-reter to accept peace and withdrew up the hill in order to fur-ler reassure them. Likewise he gave them some sandals, which e was wearing, as a signal of peace and cessation of hostilities.

hallenge of the Indians

Having quieted them and promised firm friendship, they [the ıdians] went on up the sierra. After they had gone the gov-rnor ordered the corn to be loaded and carried to the camp. Then the enemy saw that their provisions were being carried vay after having been promised friendship, they shot an arrow to the air, which is a challenge and a sign of enmity among lem, and so this was. The insult of taking their corn almost ıused them to steal the horses, for although they are a heath-ıish and uncivilized people, they want the word given them to e kept. Since they took away their corn after promising peace, ley did not consider the peace which had been agreed upon a ood one. Finally after these events the governor returned to le camp with his army where he is going to rest during hristmas.[134]

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[134]Of 1563. Mecham believes the camp was in the Guatimape valley. ee his *Ibarra*, 126. This was after the formal founding of Nombre de ios and Durango.

CHAPTER VIII

Which concerns the expedition made by the governor to Tôpia; and the hardships which were endured until it was conquered by force of arms.

The incident of the dead tree

WHEN Christmas was past[135] and the soldiers, servants, and horses had rested, the governor decided to undertake the conquest of Tôpia, a town and province which he was sure would have many people and much wealth owing to the way in which the neighboring Indians had praised it. They had displayed silver feather crests, feather shields, and cotton clothing. This purpose he carried out in good and concerted war order until he reached the Valle de los Ahorcados, where the guides had been executed by Martín de Gamón. There they saw the tree which was dead though it showed no sign of having been damaged by a thunder bolt or fire. This was considered to have occurred by divine consent in order to demonstrate the unjust death inflicted upon the twenty guides who were hanged upon it. They were unjustly declared guilty on mere appearances, for Martín de Gamón believed they were avoiding the town of Tôpia and leading him into the hands of some who would kill them. This was far from the truth. In this valley were found pieces of the cart which the friars had taken to that point.

Crossing the Tôpia sierra

From this place the army went on up the sierra, making short journeys in order not to fatigue the men and the pack and saddle horses. They passed over ranges of great altitude, over numerous large mountains, cliffs, deep ravines, and ridges, unloading and reloading the cargos of the pack-horses. The latter very frequently fell because of the great roughness of the mountains. The men did this work with much courage and contentment, although they were in poor, deserted, and unproduc-

[135] Of 1563.

:ive lands, where not even birds live, nor were they seen flying :n these high regions until the Sierras de las Cruces were reached. This was a sierra of very great roughness and seemed to indicate that they should not go on. It is surrounded and hemmed in by frightful cliffs, rocks, and terrible ravines, so that it was necessary to remove some stones in order that the horses might pass.

The five who discovered Tôpia; dancing at Tôpia

From there on Pedro Hernández acted as guide. He was one of the five who discovered Tôpia in company with Salvador Ponce. They bravely overcame hunger, mountains, cold, and loneliness until they came in sight of Tôpia. Without being noticed, they perceived the valley, houses, and defenses, and the natives dancing to the sound of a drum, a *teponastli,* Mexican music.[136] When they had reported on this reconnaissance,[137] there was great incredulity among the majority of the soldiers because they saw that the land was so uninhabitable and lacking in paths and roads. The discouraged people cursed the governor, saying that he was leading them to destruction.

The maeso's suggestion

When the *maeso de campo* saw the craggedness of the mountains, he suggested that the army should fortify itself there, and that part of it well provisioned with all things necessary should go to conquer Tôpia, and thus fortified should send for those who had remained behind. But the governor not wishing to do it, went on until they reached a valley shaped like a basin. That night the *contador* Bartolomé de Arriola got lost. It is believed that he would have died of cold if his companion had not come to his rescue with fire which he made with the trigger of the harquebus.

Agreement made; departure of the governor

The governor left this place with the *maeso de campo,* Rod-

[136]Ibarra was anxious to seize an Indian at Tôpia, and for that purpose the village was approached at night. They heard the *teponastlis,* but failed to take anyone captive. "Relación . . . de Ibarra," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.,* XIV, 558, 559.

[137]This was evidently a scouting party which now returned to report to the main body of the army.

rigo del Rio, Salvador Ponce, and other picked soldiers, to explore Tôpia. It rained and snowed on the way and owing to the rain and cold they reached different places. They were suspicious of having seen the smoke with which the natives signal war. For this reason and the large amount of water and the dampness of the mountains which would be a hindrance in using their harquebuses and leather armor, he decided to return to the camp.

A storm of rain and snow; thirty-eight horses frozen to death

Having rested for a few days, recovering from fatigue and hardships, and the storm having subsided, the governor got ready the men who had gone with him before. With these he marched until they came to such a terrible and frightful rocky place that it was impossible for human understanding to comprehend how it could be crossed. A great storm of rain and snow broke out, so furious that besides dividing the people of the army into three parts, thirty-eight horses froze to death; the governor's horse appeared in the morning frozen stiff leaning against a tree, and three of the *maeso de campo's* horses froze to death.[138]

The governor took refuge in the sheltered place of a deep ravine, where the dangerous cold was alleviated by abundant fire wood. He used this to make many fires which the storm could not put out. However they had nothing to eat until the following day when he sent someone to find a way out. As soon as this was found they were supplied with provisions and the divided army united again. The storm lasted two days and nights and on the following day God aided them with the necessary succor. The snow and the rain stopped and the sun came out. Everything that was wet they dried in the sun, and they rested from the past hardship which was intolerable. Meanwhile a descent was sought and although it was bad, one was found.

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[138]This incident is also reported in the "Relación de los descubrimientos, conquistas y poblaciones hechas por el gobernador Francisco de Ibarra en las provincias de Copala, Nueva Vizcaya y Chiametla, (año de 1554)." [It should read, after 1554]. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XIV, 480.

Plans to take Tôpia; in sight of Tôpia

The governor ordered twenty-six soldiers and the *maeso de campo* to be equipped. This they did, providing them with good arms, horses, and everything else necessary; all carried harquebuses. With all these people, he marched away, leaving Captain Hernando Ramón as his substitute for the rest of the army. With this good preparation, he went over rough ridges and mountains to conquer Tôpia, very doubtful of the account which had been given by the five discoverers, although they were reliable men. When they began to see crows they were somewhat reassured in their hopes of reaching Tôpia. Passing the gorge and ascending a very high mountain, they perceived the town and surveyed at a glance the valley and settlements, all very similar to the ones they had passed, as though belonging to wild and indomitable people, lacking good order, livelihood, and customs. Although houses were not seen, the joy which the governor and his army experienced was very great, for they thought they were to realize the fulfillment of their hopes of riches and civilized people which would give relief from the hardships they had endured on the journey.

Advice of the maeso

On account of the joy and courage which they had felt on seeing the valley, they desired, even though it was late, to go down to the settlement and conquer Tôpia. But as the army was not furnished with supplies the *maeso de campo* prevented it, saying that it was not proper to enter new enemy land so late. That should be done at such an hour and time that in case the enemy came out to attack, they would have time to get located, fortified, and win the victory.

Fall of the maeso

This advice was followed and he [the governor] commanded the camp to be made on the summit of the mountain. He sent Pedro Martín and Father Pablo de Acevedo to find a path during the remainder of the day. They found one, narrow, dark, rocky, and untrodden, which they marked in order that it could be located on the following morning. At daybreak the army, well provided with arms, horses, and everything necessary, got started. They marched on foot, shouldering the harquebuses,

their horses at the right, going over ridges and rocky places in great darkness. Amid all this the path was not found and they would have been in great danger if they had been attacked by their enemies amid the hardship they endured. On this march the *maeso de campo* fell and if his helmet had not warded off the blow, he would have perished.

Preparations to take Tôpia; the river and fields

Having descended into the valley, the governor put his army in order, placing each one in his position, the officers of the *real hacienda* in the vanguard, warning and encouraging all of them to do their duty in battle. They came to a river and wondered if they would be able to cross it. Pedro Martín sought a ford although it was at the risk of drowning, as the current carried him a considerable distance from the place where he had started, and he lost his helmet. Once past the river, they passed through fields of corn, beans, and pumpkins. This increased their courage and joy, the more so when they saw six Indian women clothed from the waist down in cotton blankets. These fled, frightened at the sight of people not belonging to their kind, and they could not be caught because they disappeared in the dense corn fields.

Fortress at Tôpia; the natives take to arms; weapons used

They [the soldiers] now saw houses, a fine fortress, and another house of three stories with a stone wall. The inclosure was as high as a small lance and consisted of a dry wall and maguey and prickly pear trees. All of this at first sight gave them the impression that it was a town of great importance. Moved by the eagerness and desire to accomplish what they had set out to do, they conferred with those who had first discovered Tôpia in the belief that they had found another Mexico. The governor went toward the fortress, which seemed to be the stronghold and fortification of a great lord. Before reaching it they were heard by the enemy, who took to arms, shouting with much disorder, tumult, courage, and boldness. The echo of their angry clamor resounded in the cavities and summits of the terrible cliffs, precipices, and rocks. This greatly disturbs those who fear death, and causes cold perspiration to roll down their faces. The fear of being considered cowards oppresses

them and forces them to resist the Christians with strength and boldness. Others who are by nature brave, seize with great rage and boldness, bows, arrows, shields, clubs, and small spears. They are decorated with very brilliant native trappings of feathers, beads, conchs, colored wreaths, and darts of brazilwood with arrow heads. They attack by shooting arrows and opposing the genuine and manly efforts of the Christians.

The victors

They were met by Antonio de Betanzos, Salvador Ponce, Rodrigo del Rio, Pedro de Unzueta,[139] Alvaro de Mata, the three royal officials, the *alguacil mayor* Pedro de Montoya, Alonso Nuñez, Amador López Peña, Pedro Hortuño, the Verdugos, Hernando de Buena Lerma, and the other soldiers with great courage, reliance, and bravery. All of these men had been organized and placed in military formation by the governor and the *maeso de campo,* who made them dismount and line up in single file, holding their shields, and with the harquebuses in readiness.

An Indian killed by del Rio

Following the advice of the *maeso de campo,* they went to take a good position, going on horseback until they came to a little sloping hill located about an harquebus-shot from the fortress. The enemy were continuously shooting arrows and throwing darts, stones, and clubs with great turmoil, commotion, and madness. Since their ordinary mode of fighting is in continuous motion, the harquebuses had no effect. This increased their anger, courage, and boldness and their desire to kill the Christians, until Rodrigo del Rio, a good soldier and the best harquebusier of the army, felled one of the enemy. This inspired them with fear of the damage which they knew the harquebuses caused.

Investment of the fortress; the wounded

They began to move into the fortress, and the *maeso de campo* requested that it be assaulted and conquered before it should be taken and held by a larger number of enemies, asking that he be given command during the dangerous victory. This was soon

[139]Cuevas has *Unzuleta.* Cuevas, *Obregón,* 58.

granted because the day before he had asked the governor to entrust him with the affairs of greatest danger in the war and its clashes and that he should be the first among them to attack and conquer the fortress. This task of investing and assaulting it was entrusted to him with twenty picked soldiers. Among them were Salvador Ponce, Rodrigo del Rio, Alvaro de Mata, Juan de San Pedro, Amador López, and Pedro de Montoya. With these men he carried out his task, fighting with great discipline, courage, and bravery. In the first clash on arriving at the fortress, Salvador Ponce was knocked down by a stone blow on his head which drove the helmet into his scalp. The *alguacil mayor* Mancha, Juan Arias, and other soldiers were felled by arrows.

Verdugo's mishap; an old Indian badly hurt

At this time the *maeso de campo* reached the very strong stairway of the fortress, made of stone and mortar, and, followed by Rodrigo Verdugo and others, began to ascend it in order to conquer the stronghold. The latter [Verdugo] met with disaster while fighting and conquering it because Pedro Ortuño, without intending to hurt him, shot one of his arms to pieces from the post of the governor which was in front of the fortress. It was fortunate that he was not killed, because the shot passed through his jacket. Continuing the ascent, the *maeso de campo* was attacked by an old man who was defending the approach. He had long locks of hair. With great determination he beat his shield with a heavy club, but the *maeso de campo* gave him such a thrust and cut that his cheek, jaw, and face were badly shattered on one side. Seeing himself so badly and terribly wounded, he attacked the *maeso de campo* to avenge his injury. The latter braced up with furious determination. He changed the harquebus to his left hand and with the right seized his sword and compelled the enemy to flee. He entered the fortress, dominating it so completely that he forced the enemy to retire hastily, but they faced about and gathered within gunshot distance of him.

Victory of the Christians; Tôpia conquered

Thus the victory was won, although with hardship and at the risk of their lives. The *maeso de campo* did not permit his

army to shoot or harm the vanquished, who were frightened at the promptness and boldness with which their fortress had been taken. Here[140] the governor and the entire army established their quarters, and by signs he offered peace to the natives. One of them approached, although with great fear, and seeing that he was not harmed, the others decided to come and brought their wives loaded with provisions. He [the governor] presented them with gifts of things which they lack in their land. He promised them good friendship and support against their enemies, at which they were pleased. In this manner he pacified them and kept them from abandoning their homes.

[140]In Tôpia.

CHAPTER IX

Which treats of the qualities, character, and customs of the mountaineers of Tôpia and its surroundings; and of the events which took place before departing from their lands.

Discovery of Tôpia by Guzmán's captains

HIS mountainous territory and district of Tôpia was discovered by the captains of Nuño de Guzmán from the province of San Miguel de Culiacán,[141] which is twenty-five leagues distant a little more or less. They were discovered that they might be subjected to our holy Catholic faith. Owing to the fact that their dwelings are in such rough lands and that they are accustomed to a mountainous life and that they are so distant from level and profitable lands they could not be subdued.

An encomendero of Tôpia; its provisions

The people of Tôpia were given in encomienda by Nuño de Guzmán to Don Diego de Guevara, a former resident of the city of Mexico.[142] Tôpia is located in a deep and level valley, about half a league down, and is covered with streams, fields of corn, beans, pumpkins, and wild apples. Of all this, they gather large quantities. On this occasion they and the Christians gathered the harvest in great harmony without showing any resistance or displeasure. On the contrary, they laughed together.

Strange way of curing wounds

After obtaining these provisions they [the Christians] decided it was best to pass the winter[143] in that valley in order that men and horses might rest from the past hardships. They

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[141]While Guzmán was in the Culiacán region numerous expeditions were sent out in various directions to explore, but as nothing was found the *villa* of San Miguel was established at Culiacán in 1531, and the ruthless conqueror gave up his plans of discovering a new kingdom to rival that acquired by Cortés. Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 341 ff.

[142]Don Diego de Guevara had been a captain in Coronado's expedition to Cíbola. Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers*, 324.

[143]That is, the early months of 1564.

cured their wounded from the previous battle, as did the natives, but in a strange and unusual fashion. This consisted of sucking the wounds until they were healed without the use of medicine or anything else. However they diet. The governor sent for the rest of the army. In this valley were found chick-peas brought from Culiacán. The natives inquired whether the Christians were enchanters. They thought that they had come down from the air, as the approach over such a frightful mountain chain was impossible. Then the old wild-looking man who had been cut in the face said that he had been wounded by an iron man.

Cannibalism

These enemies practise cannibalism. Countless bones and skulls of those whom they had killed and eaten were found.

A celebration; muster of the soldiers

The governor asked for information concerning the neighboring people and towns and was told that there were few people living in rough lands, impossible for travel on horseback. The *maeso de campo* ordered an entertainment to amuse the soldiers, who were dissatisfied because they had not found pleasing lands. He brought out the royal standard and ordered the artillery, harquebuses, and culverins put into play. This caused a frightful thundering and shaking, and the echo resounded in the different gorges, high mountains, ridges, and rocky places, which, owing to their altitude and imposing depth, caused the resonance to sound strange. He had the soldiers skirmish. This was all done to make themselves feared and in order that the natives should see in practise the strength, power, and skill of the Christians, their horses and arms.

Departure of the governor to discover nearby towns; destruction of idols

It was a conspicuous fact that there were two factions in the town of Tôpia and in the clash. The one did not wish to fight or help its friends but the party which fought was the one which afterwards better served the faction of the principal

sayayn.[144] He asked the governor to go against his enemies, which he did. He left the *maeso de campo* fortified in the stronghold,[145] which he repaired and renewed in fine shape so that the enemy could not harm him anywhere. He ordered a large cross to be placed in the town. It required many people to bring the timber and to set it up. At the base of this cross he buried all the idols he could find, all those he knew they had and which he could lay hands upon, and those which they had high up in the mountains and in caves. From the heights of that mountain chain they could perceive other mountains and caves. They could see from that mountain range extensive plains and the smoke of towns. The plain was the South Sea, but as it was so far away they could not then distinguish or determine what it was.

In order to satisfy himself as to what towns there might be the governor asked the *maeso de campo* to call the roll and select the soldiers which he preferred and to go with them to explore the valleys which they had perceived. However as he was given insufficient time he desisted. Thus the governor decided to go. He took with him the *maeso de campo* and the soldiers who had conquered Tôpia. He left Captain Hernando Ramón as leader.[146] With this good precaution he started,[147] descending and climbing the great altitude and craggedness of rough mountains and ravines until he came to a deep gorge settled by few people, as was usual in Tôpia. He lodged his army close to the town in order to be near the enemy in case they wanted to cause any harm.

The following day the *maeso de campo,* accompanied by eleven harquebusiers and the friar, went to find a descent for the army and horses. The way was of great roughness and hardship until they came to a strong house where the principal *sayayn* had guided them. Although he [the *maeso de campo*] entreated them to accept peace they were doubtful whether or not they should wait. Finally when the *maeso de campo* ap-

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[144]*Sayayn,* seemingly a name corresponding to cacique. Cuevas here commits the error of writing *caya (sic) impidió* for *sayayn pidió . . . .*

[145]Of Tôpia.

[146]That is, of the soldiers remaining in Tôpia.

[147]For the South Sea.

proached they abandoned their fortress, seeking safety in flight. They left it full of maize.

Flight of the guide; ladder made from vines

At that time one of the guides fled, which led to the disturbance in the land. The governor wrote to the *maeso de campo* that he should apprehend him and not return without the *sayayn,* who had gone to offer peace to the rebellious ones. The soldier who brought the letter came over such unusually rough cliffs, gorges, and rocky places that it was necessary to descend by means of hand ladders made of vines which the natives had to save time for their messengers. The reply was written in ink made of powder with a reed pen. In it he notified the governor that the descent was impossible by that way. The friar advised the *maeso de campo* to abandon the place. They were risking their lives because the natives were in revolt and because the army was divided in two dangerous positions. The *maeso de campo* replied that he would not leave without the *sayayn,* that he and his men were endangered because of their small number, and that even if all the people in the settlement should get together they would not be strong enough to defeat them owing to the good order and caution which they observed.

The rebels submit

While they were in this situation the *sayayn* reappeared. He had restored to peace the Indians and those in revolt. He [the *maeso*] made the signal of peace to them by sounding the bugle and by many fires, in order that the governor might know of it. The following day he sent guides and wrote to the governor to come and join him near the summit of the mountain and that he would go along the lower cañon and through the towns until a descent should be found. Thus the *maeso de campo* went forth accompanied by only eleven harquebusiers through strange and deep gorges in warm and wooded lands, suffering great hardships, fatigue, and heat. They encouraged one another and refreshed themselves and their horses in order to be rested and able to fight if the occasion came. That night the enemy wanted to fall upon them. However by a warning from the *sayayn* the *maeso de campo* took great care and precaution and was ready

to resist the evil intentions of the enemy; on this account they did not dare to attack.

Juncture of the armies

The *maeso de campo* and the governor corresponded concerning the descent and their meeting. The latter offered to send him horses if necessary or, that he would join him where he was. He did not accept the aid of the horses but continued with his soldiers on foot until he met the governor. They received one another with great satisfaction and joy. There they took two guides and continued their march. They watched these guides very carefully, but they managed to escape. One asked permission to go get some provisions and as he failed to return the governor was notified. He ordered the other to be shackled with a rope around his neck. The one at liberty gave notice that both had not been able to join the natives.

Offers of the natives

On the following day while the *maeso de campo* was leading the advance guard some Indians, who were waiting for him at the edge of a river, approached. By following its windings one can go to Culiacán.[148] He was also met by those from the mountains whom they had previously seen and passed by. They came down to offer them their towns, which were close by, and also promised to give provisions. This is a thing which they usually try to avoid by all means.

Peace urged; cannibalism opposed

In the meantime those in the rear wanted to kill the *sayayn* because he had taken the Christians to their towns. In regard to the invitation, as was afterwards learned, it was the result of an assembly of the people from the whole mountain region and adjacent lands which decided that if they were not given the guide willingly they would take him by force of arms. Not wishing to show weakness and in order to see what sort of town it was which they offered him, he continued the march in well planned fighting order until he rejoined the governor at Matoen.[149] Here he very affectionately took leave of the *sayayn,*

[148]They were on the Culiacán river or a branch.
[149]Matoen was not far from Culiacán.

cacique of Tôpia, charging him to keep peace and harmony with his enemies and that they must not eat one another because it was a great offense to God our Lord. Father Pablo preached the Gospel and good conduct to these people and to all those left behind. He did it because they inhabit such remote and rough lands, impossible of being settled by Christians. They can be made Christians[150] only if some good mines are found and if God our Lord gives the necessary assistance. To Him all of us should pray for the salvation of this idolatrous people.

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[150]This phrase, *donde se harán cristianos*, is omitted by Cuevas.

CHAPTER X

Relating how it was learned that the army was at the frontier and province of Culiacán; how the governor brought the rebellious towns and revolting people of its surroundings and neighborhood under the service of God our Lord and the royal crown; how he insured peace to the town and the estates of the settlers; and the benefits which redounded to the imperial crown and to the residents of that province.

Reception by the people of Matoen

THE TOWN of Matoen is on the frontier of Culiacán. The population is composed largely of refugees who had fled from the towns of Culiacán to avoid paying tribute and serving their encomenderos. They were opponents and enemies of the residents of Culiacán and of their encomenderos. On his arrival they presented the governor with many rich and beautiful bouquets of flowers. He was met by a large concourse of people all of whom harbored the evil design of killing the Christians by treachery if an opportunity should offer. When the governor saw the town and observed that the people were orderly, intelligent, and well behaved, he was very much pleased. He thought he had found what he had been looking for. So he dismounted and took possession of that land in the name of his majesty.

Nearing Culiacán

While they [the governor and his men] were thus felicitating themselves, they unexpectedly saw a rosary hanging from a bow, which aroused suspicion because of its novelty. The governor asked them where they got it. They replied that it had been obtained from some towns near there, a day's journey from a village of an encomendero of Culiacán.

This news was very sad and depressing for the governor and his people. They asked the governor for the guide, which he gave them at once. They showed their appreciation very heartily, serving him and giving everything necessary for each one

in the army. All this they did as people who knew how to do it well, for they were skilled and experienced in performing this duty for their masters.

Fall of the maeso

On the following day when the governor and the *maeso de campo* went to visit the villages and buildings near Matoen [the horse of] the *maeso de campo* stumbled and fell while trying to climb some rocks. The fall stunned the *maeso de campo* besides smashing the butt of his harquebus and his saddletree and he was unable to return to the camp on horseback. Nor did he find any relief or cure there. The governor did not wish to abandon the place in the mountain until the *maeso de campo* had recovered from his injury but the latter would not consent to this plan. The governor and the members of his army were greatly disconcerted at finding themselves lost in a land which others had discovered and trodden. [They saw themselves] thus deprived of the fine expectations which they had nourished amid their hardships, and realized that it was necessary to find other fields of conquest and follow other routes.

Tovar receives the governor with supplies; council of war

When Don Pedro de Tovar, a very brave, pious, and generous gentleman, heard of the departure of the governor for Culiacán, *gobernación* of New Galicia, he went to receive him with succor and refreshments, bringing many gifts and things necessary for the army, both in abundant measure and of good quality. They met with great cordiality and exchanged brave and courtly offers. He [Pedro de Tovar] expressed his condolence for the misfortune which had befallen him [the governor] by going into such unprofitable lands. However he advised him to go and settle the provinces of Cinaro and Chiametla,[151] districts which are on the borders of the town of San Miguel de Culiacán which was conquered by Nuño de Guzmán, for by so doing he

[151]Tovar suggested that Ibarra might exploit Sinaloa, to the north of Culiacán, or Chiametla, to the south. As Ibarra hesitated to recross the mountains to Nombre de Dios and Durango and did not wish to encroach on the rights of Doctor Morones in Chiametla he went into Sinaloa and spent some time developing that province. This is explained by Obregón but more clearly summarized by Mecham in his *Ibarra*, 135.

would be rendering a great service to God our Lord and to the imperial crown of his majesty. All this seemed excellent to the governor, especially as he feared for the lives of some soldiers, who were both fatigued and downhearted and dreaded to go through additional hardships similar to those they had endured. In view of this fact he decided to call the *maeso de campo*, the royal officers, and the chief men of the army to a council of war. The conclusion reached was that the plan and purpose suggested by Don Pedro de Tovar to settle the towns of Cinaro and Chiametla was very sound. Likewise they agreed that the army should not enter the village of Culiacán in order to avoid the harm which might be caused its inhabitants. With this good agreement and plan of war the army set out, marching by the right hand side of Culiacán over the slopes of the mountains.[152] Thus the governor and his soldiers were able to perform an achievement appropriate and beneficial to the service of God our Lord.

Losses; behavior of the enemy

During this time, before and after the governor Nuño de Guzmán had conquered and settled the province of San Miguel de Culiacán, most of the towns and Indians of the mountains had been in revolt, resisting its inhabitants and settlers and its villages, estates, and slaves, who live in or frequent its frontiers. They had frequently disturbed them and done unusual harm, killing and eating them and their women and children. They captured them and took their property; they burned their houses and caused them to be frightened, uneasy, and distressed. Likewise they killed the servants and slaves of farm and ranch owners, and left them no cattle which were safe nor any of their houses which were not burned.

Attempt to arouse the Indians; punishment of Mascado

Thus it came about that the rebel Indians had a general assembly and, bent on war, entered the village at night with much noise and shouting, displaying not only great boldness, but impudence as well. They stole everything they could find, even the ornaments in the church. They tried to induce the friendly

[152]Instead of visiting Culiacán the party thus goes on toward the north.

Indians to revolt and kill the Spaniards. A native chief tried to destroy the town with their help but was torn to pieces after his crime was known and parts of the body placed along the roads. They lived like brute animals, butchers of their own human kind. They ate one another and committed unusual cruelties on those whom they captured, seized, or plundered. They did the same to the traveling tradesmen. Often they fell upon the peaceful towns and farms. The settlers lived in continual fear of the harm and death which they caused them, not knowing the time or hour when their village would be destroyed. They lived in this state of continual anxiety, watchfulness, and fear, having ever ready horses, arms, and everything necessary for the defense of the town and their lives and always prepared to resist the destruction with which they were constantly threatened.

The governor restores peace; mines; important services

The governor pacified the country and made the roads and mountains safe. Thus they were able to search for, discover, and settle with safety and freedom, the mines of Chiametla, Charcas, Indee, Coneto, San Andrés, and other rich mines from which your majesty has been and is increasing the *real hacienda* by many royal fifths.[153] He protected the trade of the settlers, tradesmen, and merchants, who in former times did not dare to venture or travel in pacified lands without going in parties and guarded by a heavy escort. Hitherto they were apprehensive and feared to be attacked by the Indians in the open country, which extended for eighty leagues over hostile lands. Even this was not sufficient precaution, for sometimes the Indians plundered, killed, and ate those whom they caught unawares, asleep or separated from the group, or who, moved by greed, had ventured forth alone to buy and sell their merchandise. This happened very often. All these losses, acts of cannibalism, robberies, massacres, and offenses to God our Lord; all the injuries to the inhabitants and settlers of the town, mines, and roads of San Miguel de Culiacán, ceased with the relief and pacification afforded by the governor Francisco de Ibarra and

[153]This is a general statement of what Ibarra and his men accomplished during their exploring activities.

his soldiers. These are valuable, brave, and estimable deeds and services, worthy of remembrance and reward by your majesty as well as by the inhabitants, settlers, and tradesmen of those parts, towns, and districts.

Reduction of the pueblos

In these and many other services and very Christian efforts to prevent those damages, sins, and hostilities your majesty did not incur any expense, having been served without the solicitude or watching of any local magistrate. Nor were these services accompanied by robberies, massacres, or any kind of offense to God our Lord, or any harm to the natives. All was accomplished by good means and very Christian zeal for peace, concord, and harmony. He left them charged to preserve peace, and reduced the towns and encomiendas which had risen and revolted, to the service of some people of Culiacán. He made new encomiendas of them, especially those on the river of Sebastian de Eboroto,[154] twenty leagues from Culiacán and twenty from Petlatlán, and those of Tedoto, twelve leagues from Culiacán, which he reduced and gave anew as an encomienda to Don Pedro de Tovar.[155] There were two encomiendas, one consisting of one thousand men and the other of four hundred. They promised once more to recognize, obey, and pay tribute to their encomendero Don Pedro de Tovar.

All this was brought about by good means, by threats, and without shedding of blood or force of arms. The judges and magistrates of that *gobernación* had been unable or incompetent to put order in all these things. When it was asked of them they demanded large salaries and many people. This was especially true of Doctor Morones, to whom had previously been entrusted the conquest and settlement of Chiametla and of Alonso Valiente.[156] All this I shall relate in its proper place.

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[154]The Sebastian de Eboroto, or Evora, the Rio Mocorito.

[155]Mota Padilla gives a different story. He says that Ibarra did favor his own men in redistributing the encomiendas after he had pacified the land. *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, 208.

[156]Alonso Valiente was made governor and captain-general of Chiametla for twenty years. His province was to extend one hundred leagues northward and fifty leagues inland. *Capitulación de Alonso Valiente, sobre la pacificación y población de la provincia de Chiametla, por su cuenta.* No date, A.G.I., 58-6-9.

CHAPTER XI

Regarding the things which the governor Francisco de Ibarra prepared in order to enter, conquer, and settle the province of Cinaro; and the entry and pacification of the river of Petlatlán.

Preparations for peace

WHEN the governor had brought peace, concert, and harmony to the people at the river and towns of Sebastian de Ebora he asked the natives for messengers to invite and warn those near the river of Petlatlán[157] to accept peace. They furnished them and likewise two hundred friendly natives to guide the army. They were all provided with the necessary arms, in the use of which they are very skilful. They gave aid also with supplies and services, all in good will, without showing displeasure at this or other things. Prepared in this manner the army continued on its way for twenty leagues by ordinary marches, going through very warm lands covered with innumerable crags. However some of these regions are very good for all kinds of cattle. The lands on the river banks are well adapted for all kinds of grains. Throughout these twenty leagues the country is almost wholly deserted.

Reply from Petlatlán

The messengers who had been sent to the river of Petlatlán returned with a favorable reply. They agreed to what the governor had requested of them, promising him a friendly reception and that they would give him everything required while in their lands. However they had been in doubt as to whether they should offer resistance to the entrance into their lands and prevent it by force of arms. In deciding in favor of a peaceful reception, they were influenced by the prudence, order, and forethought which the Christians exercised in the use and practise of war and the advantages they derived from their determina-

[157]The Petlatlán is the present Sinaloa. The name is derived from the *petates*, or mats, with which the natives covered their dwellings. Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers*, 346.

tion and bravery and from their possession of firearms. Thus fear compelled them to remain at peace.

Weapons used at Petlatlán; reception given the governor

Accordingly they got ready six hundred comely men, provided with an equipment of all their customary arms, such as shields, bows, arrows, clubs, and spears of brazilwood. All were adorned and decorated with the usual tribal trappings such as rich tassels of feathers, wreaths, beads, shells, conchs, and pearl shells. They came out to meet the governor and his army a league beyond their town. They were divided into their definite squadrons, which, both at a distance and nearby, made a fine appearance and pleased the governor and his army very much. The latter went out to meet them in good order and arrangement, ready and well prepared for either attack or defense in case any harm might come to them. With this show and display they received the governor and his army with great respect, ceremonies, and offerings, welcoming them on their arrival in their lands and town. Here they were met with proper kindness and affection and with good huts and shelters arranged and provided with all necessities. They presented him with many gifts of houses, supplies, and servants.

The Gospel preached

The governor received them with friendly courtesies, presenting gifts in return for theirs, things which they lacked and which they appreciated very much because of their novelty. He promised them friendship and good treatment of their persons, requesting them to keep peace and harmony with their enemies, because the people from these valleys and provinces used to be continuously at war with the natives from other places. He ordered the Holy Gospel to be preached to them through Father Pablo de Acevedo's words. The latter informed them of the joy and eternity which God gives to those who are good and who obey His commandments, and of the grievous abomination and perpetual damnation reserved for the bad and disobedient who lack the redemption of the passion of "God our Lord. Likewise he informed them how it is that there is only one"[158] God Al-

[158]The words within the quotation marks are omitted by Cuevas.

mighty, creator of all things, through whose will, order, and agreement they find support and life. They were so frightened and well disposed by this holy warning that after they had given thanks and expressed their gratification in polite terms to the governor and to the preacher for such an unusual favor, they earnestly asked the friar with many entreaties to preach to them on a designated day, speaking for the rest of the natives who live along both sides of the river.

Distance from Tlatlán to the South Sea

In the vicinity are many mountains and numerous crags which they fortify in order to defend themselves against their enemies. The country is fourteen leagues from the South Sea and is inhabited by naked people who wear only a cotton cloth tied around the waist. The women wear a sort of skirt of tanned deerskin above the waist.[159] They sow and harvest corn, cotton, beans, and calabashes. They are near the mountains from which they derive precious metals, such as silver. In their many small towns the houses are arranged in terraces.

News of a Christian interpreter; her arrival

In this village the interpreter whom they had employed died. On this account the governor inquired for another in order to continue the expedition. He was informed of an Indian woman who knew the Mexican language and three other languages of those provinces. However he could not find an Indian who would go and notify her, because she was at Ocoroni,[160] a territory of their enemies. Finally there was found an Indian, a friend of both tribes, who went to call her, carrying letters from the governor in order that she would believe that she was being called by the Christians. When Luisa and the people of Ocoroni saw this they decided to send her accompanied by twelve able and gallant young men. She wore cotton skirts from the waist down and was naked above the waist. Although she had forgotten the use of the Mexican language she became skilful in a short time by reviewing and practising it. She was intelli-

[159]Perhaps an error for below the waist.

[160]Ocoroni was twelve leagues from Petlatlán. See pages 80, 81. It was on the Ocoroni river, in the vicinity of the present village of Ocoroni.

gent and willing to obey and serve the Christians. The governor received her and presented her with clothing and glass beads.

He took leave of these people of Petlatlán, offering them friendship, good treatment, and aid against their enemies. They asked his favor and aid against the latter, expressing their appreciation for the good advice and the promises of the governor. He replied that he had come to give them peace and harmony and to teach them to avoid wars among themselves; and that he intended to punish those who broke the truce which should be imposed upon them. They did not take this speech very well because they had hopes of destroying their enemies, the Christians, and likewise because it seemed to them that he was usurping too great authority.

It was fortunate that they were on the frontier of the town of Culiacán, a village settled by Christians. The rigid determination to reduce them to good habits was due to the fact that among them were Indians who had escaped from those baptized at Culiacán and they would be able to weaken the obedience to the Christians. Moreover they are naturally a cruel people, guilty of having killed some Christians. They are also very cunning and skilful in their ways, so that they often cause damage to the fields of the Christians.

The governor asked for messengers to guide the army and to send a request of peace to the people of Ocoroni, twelve leagues distant. They furnished them and also two hundred young men, well adorned, gallant, and organized in martial style. With this good precaution the army went on its way by short marches.

CHAPTER XII

Which gives an account of the entrance and pacification of the river and town of Ocoroni; and of the friendship of the people of Petlatlán for the natives of Ocoroni.

Warning to Ocoroni

FROM the settlements and the river of Petlatlán to the river of Ocoroni is twelve leagues, a journey of two days, over lands and valleys of the same nature and productivity as those which had been crossed before. The army marched through these districts with the necessary order and concord. Half a league from Ocoroni there came several messengers sent by the leaders and chiefs of that town to learn the purpose and determination of the governor in coming to their settlement. They also came to implore him to prevent the people of Petlatlán from entering their village, because they were cruel and mischievous enemies. They asked him that in case he commanded them to enter they should be rigorously prohibited from causing the harm which they might inflict and he should order them not to commit any thefts in their houses or fields. The governor received the messengers with kind offers, reassuring them against the harm which the people of their town feared from their enemies. "He assured them that his visit to their settlement was to protect and defend them against their foes"[161] and to establish good friendship with them.

Security for Ocoroni

The messengers were not satisfied in regard to the security from their enemies, owing to the high degree of hatred and hostility which they felt for each other, and which was still greater because they were close to one another. They showed by their gestures and their frowning faces as well as by their threats that they had the utmost dislike and hate for their enemies. The governor reassured both sides and imposed upon them

[161]The part in quotation marks is omitted by Cuevas.

the order that they must be friends and not harm, rob, or ki one another or be bad neighbors, under pain of punishing se verely anyone who should break this command. This please and satisfied the messengers very much.

Reception by the people of Ocoroni

After having given his reply to the people of Ocoroni fiv hundred men appeared in full view, a fourth of a league fro the river, over a beautiful and fertile river basin. They wer divided into three squadrons all fully provided with bows, a rows, shields, spears of brazilwood, and clubs, and were wearin rich feather ornaments, sea shells, and conchs. They were a adorned according to their style and custom. This brilliant pa rade greatly pleased everybody. In this harmonious and respect ful way they received the governor and his people and welcome them on their arrival and visit to their lands.

Ocoroni warned

The governor received them with his usual words and cou tesies; with the same kindness and liberality formerly shown t others. He and his army greatly rejoiced at seeing a town an people with so much order and good behavior and having suc abundance of provisions. He located and stationed his forc at a commodious place protected from the harm which thei enemies might cause from the crags. He gave the natives th same warnings and commands as to all others. In this manne he won them over and attracted them to the Gospel, to the us and practise of good habits of peace, harmony, order, and rea son, obedience to the worship of our holy Catholic faith, and t the benefits which they would derive by conversion and b observing it. They accepted this and gave themselves up peace fully, becoming vassals of his majesty without complaint or re sistance by force of arms.

Use of truces among the natives

He tried to restore friendly relations between the peopl from the river of Petlatlán and these of Ocoroni. This friend ship was accepted. For this reason and as the sign [of friend ship] used among them they exchanged their bows and arrow

After this agreement of peace the people from the river of Petlatlán were sent back.

Cacica and chieftainess; obedience to Luisa

This town and river of Ocoroni was ruled and governed by the interpreter Luisa, because of the superiority which the people recognized in her over the other women in neatness, intelligence, and ability, rather than in the exercise and practise of war. She was the wife of the leader and chief of this territory. Because of this predominance she was held in greater esteem and respect by the natives of those provinces. She secured order and efficiency in many affairs which the natives ignored and could not solve. Owing to these advantages over the others she was coveted, respected, and obeyed by all the rulers and chieftains of those provinces and places where she had been a captive, and in all of them she had been the cacica, captainess, chieftainess, and the wife of each of them.

Election of leaders among the natives

There is a custom in these provinces that the bravest person and the one who kills the most enemies is raised to the highest leadership and obeyed in everything. By virtue of this custom they recognize the one who kills and captures the most foes. This woman Luisa was a captive in five different places, from which she roamed from valley to valley; after that she escaped from or, forgotten, was left behind by the forces of Francisco Vázquez Coronado returning from their expedition to Cíbola. Some old people affirm that she was a native of the town of Culiacán and that to avoid serving and paying tribute she fled and went to Ocoroni. She was familiar with the customs and languages throughout two hundred leagues of those provinces, from Ocoroni to the valleys of Señora and Corazones, near the plains of the cattle. She served in this expedition from her town both to and from the plains with great faithfulness, sincerity, care, and diligence.

Four hundred houses at Ocoroni

Her departure caused much grief to the people of her village, which is one of the best, and better organized than any in the

province of Cinaro. It consists of four hundred houses made of reeds and reed matting and contains eight hundred inhabitants. These [houses] are round with vaulted roofs and each one has two *barbacoas* and a fireplace where they cook their meals. They are situated and congregated on the bank of a small river, on the crest of a hill near the rough ground surrounding a crag. This they use as a defense, fortress, and protection against the harm which is often caused them by their enemies from Petlatlán, Çiguini, Tegueco,[162] and Cinaro. They are dexterous, spirited, and valiant in carrying on war. They resist and defend their district against the above mentioned enemies.

The governor took leave of these people of Ocoroni with a kind farewell and with a promise of good will, fair treatment, and aid in everything that might be necessary, all with much faithfulness, love, and earnestness. He asked for messengers and guides to the town of Çiguini, which they gave willingly. Thus they marched on to urge the people of Çiguini and other neighboring hamlets to accept peace.

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[162]Cuevas has Tepulco. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 75. The record does not indicate the distance from Ocoroni to Çiguini, but it was reached before coming to the Fuerte. Cinaro was on the Fuerte, and Tegueco two leagues from the Fuerte. The three villages were seemingly close together. See page 85. Bancroft locates Tegueco (Tehueco) on the lower Alamos, but this would seem to be too near the coast. *North Mexican States*, I, 208. On the modern map Tehueco is just south of the Fuerte, a short distance below the town of El Fuerte, and it may indicate the location of Obregón's Tegueco. The towns visited on both the Petatlán and the Fuerte were fourteen leagues from the sea, according to Obregón. Cf. also Mecham's conclusions in his *Ibarra*, 139.

CHAPTER XIII

Telling of the entry and pacification of Çiguini, Tegueco and Cinaro.

Reception by Çiguini; a strong town

THE natives of Ocoroni guided the army through thickets, rough and dangerous mountains; through very warm, difficult, deserted, and sandy regions; and over narrow and unused paths until they reached the town of Çiguini. Here the natives came out to receive the governor with great solemnity, kindness, and respect, presenting him with many kinds of game and with honey-combs. They served everyone in the army with great diligence and care. This town is strong and is protected by a palisade of heavy timbers built like towers. Due to the fear of fire and no less to the fear of their enemies, for whom they are always prepared and on the look-out, they place sentries regularly to protect their lives and property. The governor made the same entreaties and warnings to them as to the ones encountered before. In obedience to him they accepted peace as vassals of his majesty. He asked them for guides, which they gave willingly.

Fear of Tegueco; Christians disregarded

They [these natives] directed the army as far as Tegueco, the most thickly and best settled in the province of Cinaro, and the most famous and feared by the natives. These people paid no attention to the Christians and did not wish to come to receive them with the order, display, and friendliness that had previously been shown them.

Method of meeting others; reception by Cinaro

They are all in the habit of receiving visitors, expressing a welcome on their arrival by shouting as if preaching. This is done by one of their number who is placed in some plain or meadow of the river with great precaution and military preparation. In these valleys they [the Christians] saw approaching

about a thousand men divided into four well organized squadrons. They were brilliantly equipped with rich feather shields, spears of brazilwood, bows, arrows, and clubs, decorated with quantities of feathers, wreaths, and plumage of parrots and aquatic birds; with shells, conchs of different kinds, and pearls. All were nude except for small pieces of cotton cloth worn around the waist. About their necks and ankles they wore many conchs, trinkets, and stones from the sea which, as they came on, made an unusual noise. With all this and with great order, joy, and concord they came to meet the governor and his army, welcoming them on their approach and arrival in their lands and town. They put the latter at his disposal. They provided quantities of game of all kinds, and likewise the provisions and necessary services in abundance.

The governor meets the people of Cinaro; the Gospel preached

The governor received them, regaling them with friendly courtesies, gifts, and with the promise of protection and firm friendship, [saying] that he would defend them from their enemies and that he would instruct them in good moderation, order, justice, harmony, equity, and in the customs of good Christians. It was important to teach them these principles of orderly life because they live in the center of the province, whose example the others must follow. The governor ordered the friar to preach the Holy Gospel to them. He did this with the aid of Diego de Soberanes and the interpreter Luisa. He informed them of the grace and infinite mercy which God our Lord showed them by allowing some one to come to them who could make them understand God, their Creator and Savior, Who protects, preserves, and prospers all His creatures; that without knowledge and confession of this truth and obedience to it and without being baptized they could not be saved, but would suffer perpetual and infernal pain, would miss the eternity and the supreme and everlasting enjoyment of God our Lord, Whose image is painted on the flag which he brought and which they had before them. On the other side of the flag was that of the blessed Mother of God, empress, queen of heaven and of all the celestial and earthly creatures whose name was Holy Mary, who intercedes and pleads for sinners.

The Gospel explained; reply of the natives

Having preached about the infinite mercy God had shown them, and placed in their midst, and seeing that by this truth he was drawing them to conversion and to the point of salvation, the father preached to them concerning the precious gift of the commandments and the precepts of God our Lord, prescribed to obtain salvation as well as to live peaceful and virtuous lives as is befitting good Christians guided by the good laws of nature. The natives listened attentively and were startled to hear such wonderful things which their uncultured minds could not comprehend nor dared to question. Their reply to this sermon and good advice was that they were very much pleased to hear such a good sermon and things of such greatness of which they were ignorant, because they had always worshipped as their god the sun, which gives them light.

The natives plan war

They often came in squadrons to see the Christians. It was affirmed, and there were many occasions for suspecting it, that they wished to kill them by assembling a great many people, and that at the time when they wished to carry out their intent there was a fight among some soldiers. When they saw the disturbance and the many drawn swords they desisted from their determination of engaging them in battle.

Nature of this land; the river; boats used

The natives from this river are very dexterous, skilful, and versed in the art of carrying on war. They are also good farmers. They have fields of beans, corn, calabashes, and cotton, and are good fishermen. They live along this river as far as the South Sea, which is fourteen leagues distant, and as far as the mountain range, six leagues away. This river is swift, wide, treacherous, and bordered by shade trees. It is surrounded by fertile banks and plains suitable for grazing and farming. It is the widest river found in those provinces next to that of Çenticpas,[163] one hundred and forty leagues behind, and has better plains, pastures, climate, and location than Chiametla or Culia-

[163]Cuevas has Centiepac. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 79.

cán. They can float small boats down this river when it is high. It has quantities of fish and crocodiles and there is much game both of foot and wing.[164]

Council of war; a fortress

When the governor learned of the scheme of the natives to fall upon his army, and, realizing that his men were few because the rest of them had remained at Tôpia, he called a council of war. It was decided that the army should return to the river of Petlatlán to await and rejoin the others. This was carried out accordingly. The governor sent the *maeso de campo* to that place to select a convenient site in which to lodge and protect the army. It was carried out in the best possible manner. He ordered a fortress to be built and it was begun. A wooden one was utilized for a few days.[165]

Reunion of the army

At this time the governor decided to go to Culiacán to get men and to provision the army with the necessary things. The officers of the *real hacienda* tried to prevent this trip. They suggested that the *maeso de campo* should go instead. He [the governor] begged him to go, but he declined, saying he would never do it as it might be attributed to cowardice since he was the one who would have to remain with few men. Even when the governor would leave him only four soldiers, he would not try to avoid remaining but would stay there serving his majesty until death. When the governor saw that the restlessness caused by his contemplated departure was increasing, he very prudently postponed it. He sent Father Pablo de Acevedo to Mexico city and some soldiers to the mines of San Martín. He sent for the rest of the army which had remained at Tôpia, and within a short time they rejoined him at Petlatlán.

Desertion of soldiers

At this place some soldiers deserted. The governor sent the *maeso de campo* to pursue and apprehend them and to pun-

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[164]This is the Fuerte which is being described.

[165]This camp on the Sinaloa (Petlatlán) was only temporary. After the *maeso* returned from Culiacán with supplies the soldiers again went on to the Fuerte to establish their fortress.

ish them in exemplary manner so that the others would not become involved in a similar crime. Although the *maeso de campo* was suffering from measles, he accepted the charge entrusted to him. He marched day and night without stopping, except to rest during the afternoon because the excessive heat in those lands made it impossible to march. When he reached Culiacán he took from the stores of the merchants, on the governor's account, iron for horseshoes, powder, shirts, footgear, and other necessary things.

After obtaining provisions he returned to Cinaro with great precaution until he reached the province, because the land was unreliable and somewhat disturbed. There he was well received. He gave an account of what had been commanded, meanwhile concealing the imprisonment of the fugitives in order not to hang them and because one of them was badly wounded in the arm by the harquebus shot given him by Pedro Ortuño during the taking of the fortress of Tôpia. This deed of humanity was greatly appreciated and praised by everyone in the army.

Council of war

After all this the governor assembled a council of war to determine in what manner and where the town and settlement of those who were to inhabit that province should be established. This will be set forth in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

Relating how the governor founded a town in the province of Cinaro; and telling of the soil, climate, people, and wealth found there.

Reports of metals

AFTER the governor and his *maeso de campo* had visited the rivers, mountains, and territories of the province, he decided to found a town on the river Cinaro.[166] This conclusion was in part due to the large number of people found in that province without the light of faith, as well as to the service which would thus be rendered to the royal crown of his majesty. In order to do so they inspected and surveyed towns and *repartimientos* which would provide for the comfort of the settlers so that they could maintain and defend the town from the natives in case they should interfere with its founding. There were likewise mountains nearby adapted for silver mines. The natives had given indications of them by the large quantity of metals which they extracted from the mountains for their ornaments. There were likewise numerous valleys and lands suitable for grazing and farming, which yield profits for their owners.

Council of war to establish settlements

In order that this plan of founding the town might be done peacefully, without forcing or oppressing the soldiers who, besides not drawing any pay were tired from the past hardships, the governor agreed to call a council of war. [This was done] after having communicated his design to each soldier individually, as a prudent ruler wishing to be right in such an important matter. Likewise he ordered that all of them should attend mass together, a mass directed to the Holy Spirit, in order that because of their prayers His holy Providence should direct them in the manner most suitable to His holy service; should illumine their minds in that which pertained to the location and

[166]The Cinaro was the present Fuerte.

founding of that town and people; should lend His precious hand and will for the conversion of that heathen people, ignorant of His inestimable and highest worth, of His eternal enjoyment, of the abominable damnation and punishment of the wicked, and of the reward of the blessed. To encourage his soldiers not to refuse a deed of so great importance, usefulness, and profit for that people, that rustic nation, he [the governor] delivered the following speech to them:

Address to the soldiers

"My brave and valiant Christians and friends: I should like to have discovered and conquered another new wealthy Constantinople, another prosperous and powerful Venice, or at least another famous and rich Mexico or another treasure-laden Peru in order to put them into your hands and make you lords of their estates and riches. You are more deservedly entitled to them than those who possess, dominate, enjoy, and hold them. But as Catholics and valiant soldiers, we must justly and devoutly consider that treasures, riches, and estates are granted by God, our supreme Being, to whom, when, and in the manner He pleases. Considering the unquestionable obligation owed to His holy service by us who are Christians and who have promised and professed holy obedience and guidance in the things pertaining to the practise and exercise of our holy Catholic faith, it is just that we should enlist in His holy service. We can do this by bringing to our faith this barbarous and rustic nation, ignorant of their God, Creator, and Saviour. Thus they may know, attain, and enjoy the splendor of His inestimable and resplendent light of justice, and we may be a part, basis, and means of saving them from the eternal sufferings of hell.

"Moreover by our Christian and natural duty, we are obliged to protect and properly counsel them and to serve and increase the number of vassals of our powerful Catholic king and natural lord. We are also bound by our honorable obligation as good and valiant soldiers to continue doing virtuous and famous deeds following the responsibility imposed upon us by our predecessors. On this account I decided to use you in this small beginning, for with this as a starting point we shall find other means to attain and augment the greatness and culmination of

my desire to make it match the reward of your merits, accomplishments, and loyal services. I assure you that this forms the basis of all my promises, aims, and deeds, except for that which I direct and employ in the service of the dominion of God our Lord and that of the imperial majesty of our Catholic and powerful emperor and natural lord."

Reply of the soldiers

The *maeso de campo,* the captains, ensigns, royal officers, and the rest of the army replied to the governor with fitting respect, veneration, and gratitude for the favor, good offer, and advice which he gave them. They submitted in everything to his will and obedience, to which they swore allegiance once more, promising not to do anything whatsoever against his will but to obey him in every respect as their captain-general.

Mass for founding a town; selection of town officials; distribution of the land; command given the maeso

After being assured of the good will and obedience of the army and of the way they accepted the founding, locating, and settling of a town in that province he ordered mass to be said, offered to the Holy Spirit. By Its will, favor, and protection he founded the settlement[167] on a beautiful and fertile bank of the river Cinaro on the mountainous side, because that part was spacious and dominated gentle plains, meadows, and common lands. He appointed judicial and administrative bodies, who by virtue of their authority distributed with great equity and harmony the lots, small farms, and tracts of land. Each settler was provided according to his service and merits. He left the *maeso de campo* Antonio Sotelo de Betanzos as his substitute and deputy. Since he was experienced, learned, and diligent in matters of war he [the governor] granted him authority for the enlargement, planning, and good organization in arranging the town.

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[167]The settlement established was San Juan de Sinaloa or San Juan Bautista de Carapoa, on the Fuerte. Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 107, 108. It was in May or June, 1564. The settlement was five miles north of Tegueco. Mecham, following Perez de Ribas *Historia de los Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fee.*

A fortress suggested

To carry this out and to provide for the safety of the lives of the settlers he suggested to them the advisability of building a fortress. This advice was not received with pleasure. It was like giving them aloes to taste, because they understood it was to be built and founded by the strength of their arms. As they were not drawing wages from the crown, the *maeso de campo* used a scheme to make them work. He built and set up the first wall with his own hands and the aid of his negroes and servants. When it was begun he placed himself inside with the purpose of making them feel ashamed so that they would imitate him and lose the fear of being humiliated by mixing mortar and loading dirt as he was doing. He did it as an example and that they should imitate him voluntarily in the fortification for the protection of their lives.

These plans they declined and with much agitation criticised the determination of the *maeso de campo*. They offered all sorts of suggestions and reasons without any basis in order to excuse themselves from this work. It is affirmed that the chief evil-doer in this discontent among the soldiers was the *alguacil mayor* Alonso de la Mancha, who was moved by jealousy because he was not the principal author of such an important undertaking. Consequently he took part in defending the view of those who prevented the building of the fortress. His pretext was that it was not right that they should do so since there were natives who could be compelled to do it, that it was not just to oppress the soldiers with so much work, for they were not drawing any wages and were tired from the marches and past hardships, and that by flattery and payment of gifts it would be possible to induce the natives to do the labor.

When the *maeso de campo* had considered the obstacles which were arising he held an assembly of all the soldiers. He calmed and pleased them with much flattery and kind words, saying that it was not right to oppress such notable and valiant soldiers in order that the fortress should be built by their labor. In case necessity forced them to that extremity it should be with their previous consent and pleasure. He wished to build the fortress with his slaves, servants, and such people among the

natives of the locality as would voluntarily help him. [He wanted to build it] for the safety of their homes; to avoid the harm and danger which might come; to free himself from the charge of carelessness in not having fortified his camp; to enjoy greater liberty from the enemy; to avoid guards and sentries, which were absolutely necessary where there was no fortress; and in order that they might rest from the past hardships, so that they would be ready to fight the enemy if the occasion came.

Reply in regard to the fortress

The soldiers replied to the *maeso de campo* saying that they had understood him perfectly. His personal effort was only a means of persuading them to imitate him in carrying out the work. They pointed out to him that it was a big undertaking and doubtful whether it could be completed. The governor himself would not have dared to undertake it, because it would require so much time that it would not be possible to finish it in eight months. If he was determined to complete the fort, it should be done by asking the natives to help him or by forcing them to do so. This could not be done without the risk of driving them to rise and rebel. In addition to being free and not used to serve, the majority of the natives were scattered and far from the fortress. When they came to the camp with provisions or to trade they went back avoiding the occupations to which the soldiers would put them. It was not right to urge or compel them to serve until better protected and safe from the harm which might be caused them. They paid no attention to the ways and means of accomplishing such a useful undertaking.

Building the fortress

He [the *maeso de campo*] continued his work with such diligence, eagerness, and care that in twenty days he had finished four walls one hundred paces long, although some parts were made with heavy timbers. When the soldiers saw the progress he was making, forced by shame, they decided to help the *maeso de campo*. He distributed to them on his account, on a pro rata basis, the wages to which they were entitled. The *maeso de campo* took upon himself the task of finishing two walls and four

towers at the corners where the culverins were to be located. They would guard the walls and protect the fortress.

The maeso in danger; rescuing the raft

He went up the river half a league from the camp, taking along some soldiers, slaves, and servants. He gathered all the axes, ropes, and cables in the army and made a raft of the logs which had been carried down by the current of the river. Then there came a great freshet and flood of the river. It is very swift and treacherous during the rainy season and sometimes when the snow in the mountains melts during the cold weather. For this reason there was not a soldier, slave, or servant who dared to use the raft. When the *maeso de campo* saw that his work had been in vain he sent soldiers and servants to the camp to come to his aid with naked people to draw him into a sort of harbor found near the fortress. He was not afraid of the suffering and danger through which he was going to pass. He warned the natives and ordered the raft to be put into the turbulent and swollen river. It started with great fury, running beneath the willow trees thrown up on the shore of the river by the great floods.

When the *maeso de campo* saw the danger to which his life was exposed he lay down on the raft and held fast to it as best he could in order to escape alive, waiting to be dashed to pieces at any moment. God provided a remedy to prevent this, because He permitted the raft to break through and open a passage with one end, pushing aside the branches and the trunks of trees which might kill him. It drifted to the middle of the river, approaching the fortress. The *maeso de campo* shouted, calling for help. In response the soldiers rushed out hurriedly, fully armed for battle. They were certain that those shouts and calls were against the enemy, whom they suspected to be fighting those on the raft. But however quickly they arrived and undressed, the raft was already going beyond the fortress and drifting in the direction of enemy lands. To save the situation, and especially because he feared the dangers of a cascade or water-falls in the river, the *maeso de campo* decided to jump from the raft, and he escaped by swimming at great risk to his life. God was pleased to save him from this and other dangers.

Value of the fortress

After this he continued the construction of the fortress until it was completed, much to the pleasure and benefit of all. Accordingly from that time on the soldiers were more orderly, peaceful, and contented on account of the security which had been provided for their lives. The *maeso de compo* was free from the danger and reverses which might result therefrom and from any blame for having failed to provide himself with such an important defense. With it ten thousand enemies would not be enough to harm and destroy them. It eliminated watches and sentries which they had to provide regularly at the cost of much hardship and care. So even though it was built by dint of much labor, it spared many painful troubles, cares, and hardships through which they must necessarily have passed if they had not had it.

CHAPTER XV

Which relates how the *maeso de campo* built a church; and how he punished and reduced to peace the people of Tegueco[168] and those along the river down to the sea.

Building the church; its patron saint; crosses in the towns

AFTER arranging the defense and protection afforded by the establishment of the fortress for the community of the settlement, the *maeso de campo* Antonio Sotelo de Betanzos decided to build a church for the administration, practise, and exercise of the things of our holy Catholic faith and for the conversion of the natives to the knowledge and obedience of our God, Lord, and Creator. He began to build it in His name and that of His Holy Mother. He chose as its patron and advocate Saint John the apostle and evangelist. To begin the structure he made, mixed and set the first mortar, foundation, and adobe wall. The result was that through his endeavor, labor, and care the church was founded in the province of Cinaro. From that time on the sacraments were administered there until the natives revolted and rose up in arms. Its consecration and the necessary ceremonies did not take place then because Father Pablo de Acevedo was absent from the province. He had gone to the city of Mexico to bring friars to help him in the conversion and instruction of the natives.[169] When he returned the consecration and dedication of the church and sacraments were carried out. The *maeso de campo* had an altar and a beautiful cross placed in the patio of the church and later on he ordered one placed in the center of every town bordering on the settlement.

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[168]In this chapter Cuevas erroneously adopts the form *Tegusco* for Tegueco.

[169]According to Bancroft Ibarra had been accompanied by four Franciscans, Acevedo, Herrera, and two not named. *North Mexican States*, I, 103. If that is the case they did not accompany him on this expedition into Sinaloa.

The province explored

When he had finished the construction of these two works he decided to set out to provision his army with supplies and to restore order and harmony among the towns and natives of the province. Since the largest town, called Tegueco, distant two leagues from the village of Cinaro, was in rebellion and haughty on account of its power, the people of the latter were frightened, remained absent, or fled from their town and homes. He had been unable to remedy this situation by persuading them to return to their houses and to remain there securely undisturbed and without fear of the harm which they dreaded.

A spy from Tegueco

The expedition first went to these people who were nearer, disobedient, and in need of correction. They were continuously spying on the *maeso de campo* on the pretext of sending necessary provisions to the camp. They came to see and learn what he and the Christians were doing, being guided in all this by their schemes and malice to accomplish their evil purpose. However he ordinarily pleased and quieted them with good promises, gifts, kindnesses, and by defending them from the harm inflicted on them by their enemies. These good assurances and flatteries lasted until they became impudent and wanted to kill those who went to their town.

Punishment of Tegueco

As the *maeso de campo* could not reduce them by peaceful methods he determined to seize a spy and to keep him in custody and under guard. He had some good rafts built, picked the soldiers he wanted, and left those in the village, army, and fortress, warned and in accord. He let the horses swim across the river and remained in hiding the rest of the day. He ordered that the entry should be made suddenly, with great noise and tumult, simply to frighten and reduce them to peace without the shedding of blood.

With this arrangement and purpose he marched with the army until it arrived at the town and meeting place of the enemy without being suspected. The *maeso de campo*, soldiers, and friends attacked with terrible tumult, noise, uproar, and shout-

ing. This caused such apprehension and fear in the enemy that he who found himself alive considered himself fortunate. Some fled in one direction, some in another, urging and bringing their women and children before them. Others found refuge and protection in the thicket, which is the shelter and safeguard for defending themselves, because it cannot be overrun or controlled by cavalry due to its thick growth.

Capture of thirty women

Since the *maeso de campo* had given orders not to kill or harm anyone, the natives were running away as fast as they could and he was unable to effect the purpose for which he had come. Observing that the enemy did not offer resistance and that there was such a great tumult, the *maeso de campo* ordered the men to dismount, and then went after the enemy on foot until he reached the open country. He had left the mounted squadron in a place where it could easily be brought into play. Seeing that the enemy was getting away from him, he gave the command to bring the horses. With these they pursued the enemy until they apprehended thirty women and their children.

Worship of the sun

With this booty he returned to the camp. It was of so great importance that while they kept it in the camp, the enemy never dared to harm the soldiers, their servants, or horses. On the contrary, since there was more noise than harm in the encounter, they came from far away lands to visit and to bring presents. At this time they came to the settlement to beg for the release of the prisoners with pleadings and flatteries, using very complimentary words, calling them sons of the sun, which they worship and acknowledge as their god. The *maeso de campo* received them with the necessary kindness and courtesy. He reassured them in view of the previous harm and fear. For this purpose he gave them the following argument and talk.

The natives urged to be Christians

Through the interpreter, Luisa, he gave them to understand that they should know as an evident truth that the coming of the Christians was to make good friends with them and not to cause harm. They came that through their effort, endeavor,

and care they should be converted to the knowledge, use, and exercise of our holy Catholic faith; that by means of this true knowledge they should obey and believe through faith; that there is only one God almighty, Who created them, Who gave them the life which they enjoy, and Who preserves and supports them and all creatures and things of this world. He likewise made and created the sun, which they feared and worshipped as their god and true creator, cause, and maker of all things which are established and governed by His divine will alone. They should acknowledge Him with the proper obedience and respect as a God without beginning or end, Whom all good and true Christians respect, serve, and obey. He gives such people the most precious and eternal repayment and reward, and the wicked, who do not possess the light of faith, eternal suffering.

The prisoners are returned; their reply and promise

In the same manner they came to reduce them to reason, justice, harmony, and order, because they lived like wild beasts, completely given up to the cravings of their bestial lives and vices. He told them that the stern imprisonment of their wives was done in order that they should come voluntarily to the submission and obedience of that which he had communicated to them. Their women he returned to them, and they were received with great joy. They appeared to have been persuaded and pleased, and promised to obey everything which they might be ordered. He instructed them not to go away nor to refuse to do what should be asked. Even if they should go as far as the clouds it would not be of any avail, for by the favor of God they were invisible and any resistance would be futile. This they had seen by experience, for so few Christians had entered their lands to subdue all those provinces. All this was proper in such a new land and among such an indomitable people as arguments would have been of no use whatsoever.

View of the Cinaro river

After these good counsels and warnings the *maeso de campo* decided to go visit the settled parts of this river from the mountains to the sea. There the natives could not be pursued because the land was so densely covered with dangerous crags. He gave the same discussion and admonition as he had given to

the people at Tegueco in all the towns. In all of them he gathered and collected some provisions. He marched through the settlements with great difficulty due to the many swamps, groves of trees, and extremely laborious craggy spots which the deer can hardly cross.

Urique; the natives frightened; gifts brought by them

He entered a town called Urique.[170] Its people were greatly frightened by the Christians, their harquebuses and horses, so much so that they took to flight with much tumult and shouting. Accordingly it was with some difficulty that a means was found of quieting the crying and hysterics of the women and boys. This was done through an Indian who happened to come out in full flight from a rugged spot near some cotton-wood trees and broken country.[171] It was pitiful to see the trembling and the fear which the sight of the Christians and the horses inspired in them. They thought that they were going to be killed there or taken captives. They were so astounded and frightened that it was necessary to reassure them and to call and pacify them by means of the captured Indian. Little by little and with difficulty he induced them to accept peace, and the *maeso de campo* completely reassured them. He lodged his army outside of the craggy spot, in the open ground. Here the natives brought him many presents of corn, beans, calabashes, fish roasted in barbecue style, deer, hares, rabbits, and quail, all in large quantities.

A harbor

From this place he went to explore the sea, where he looked for harbor facilities. He found a harbor among some coves formed by the river and although he did not ascertain whether it was deep enough for large vessels, he let some people fish there and they found a great quantity of big fish. He ordered the river's mouth and entrance into the sea to be sounded. It was done at low-tide and the depth was a little less than two

[170]The present village of Urique is far up the Fuerte, in the state of Chihuahua, and is not identical with the village here mentioned. Obregón says they visited the "settled parts of this river from the mountains to the sea." See page 100.

[171]This Indian was captured as he tried to escape.

fathoms. All the people near this river provided everything necessary with great diligence, care, and respect. They gather much corn, beans, and calabashes. They are good fishermen; make good pottery; and are skilful with the bow and arrow. They are naked, with only a cloth tied around their waist. This land is enclosed by mountains and innumerable thorny crags. It is very warm. However there are some level plains.

Çiguiñi; revolt among the natives

From this town the *maeso de campo* returned by stages. He came with great precaution, placing harquebusiers in the dangerous passes for the protection of those who were going by. He continued until the army reached the walled town of Çiguini, where the army was well received. However on the following day when some Indians had been requested to load and carry the baggage and provisions, one of the soldiers urged them without the patience necessary in dealing with such strange and indomitable people. For this reason they took to arms and began to fight the soldiers with their bows and arrows.

Punishment of a rebel; a native hits a Christian; the army returns

When the *maeso de campo* learned of the impudence, daring, and boldness of the Indians he attacked them with precaution and swiftness. Finding the one most guilty, he had him tied and whipped. He told those in revolt that the punishment was for his crime and that the hands would be cut off of all those who should dare to take up arms to fight the Christians, and that since the guilty one had been punished, they should come out of the thicket. He induced them to return to the town of their own accord. He took along the Indian who had been whipped, who while walking along gave one of the soldiers a blow in the face. The latter, in a moment of rage, stabbed the Indian seven times. Then they rose in real fashion. However the Indian did not die. One of the *maeso de campo's* negroes had forgotten a silver pitcher in the town and the enemy gave it to the wounded man. In a rage and in revenge for the wounds the soldier had given him, he dashed the pitcher to pieces. After these events the *maeso de campo* returned to the village, where he was well received.

Four thousand Indians; report of metals

There are thirty thousand men more or less in this province and the surrounding territory in a radius of forty leagues, from the mountains to the sea and from Petlatlán to Mayambo,[172] both rivers forming frontiers. It is a very mountainous region in the northern part, and contains large quantities of metals. In these mountains [veins] were found [running] from seven to eight *marcos*, although they were not lasting. In those parts where metals were sought some were found of different kinds, colors, and worth. I found many metals and veins along the Meriombo river, in the mountains of Temmoca, while in search of provisions to relieve the people in the army. Some of these metals were lead, which I did not assay, others were silver, which I sent to Don Pedro de Tovar, who assayed them at two *marcos*. These metals had been taken from the surface of the land. From that time on mines of three and four *marcos* have been discovered and worked at San Andrés, thirty leagues from this province.[173] Since then metals have been discovered in places which could not be settled because the discoverers lacked means. Much silver is taken from the mines of San Andrés and much could have been taken from the other districts if they had been settled.

Cinaro ought to be settled

Therefore with so good and sufficient a supply of people, provisions, lands, and metals it is certain that your sacred cesarean Catholic majesty will increase the royal fifths; and the *real hacienda* will obtain a great increase of vassals at little expense and at the risk of few settlers. One hundred men are enough to settle, maintain, and defend it if a good fortress, gifts, and moderation in the demand of personal service and tribute from the natives are used. Above all things they should be treated with proper consideration. When the contrary was practised it happened that they rose and killed those who had

[172]The Mayambo river, variously written Mayombo, Meriombo, or Mayonbo, was clearly the Mayo. Guzmán called it the Mayomo. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 57 note 52.

[173]The impression given by Obregón is that San Andrés was near Tôpia, which is also intimated by Bancroft. *Ibid.*, I, 107.

been living there for five years, as I shall set forth in the proper chapter and place.

Once this town is established they could set out from there to conquer and found others farther on, all of which are large and [will be] profitable to your royal service.

CHAPTER XVI

[PART ONE]

Concerning the reception given by the judicial and administrative bodies and the inhabitants of the town of San Miguel de Culiacán; the many services which Don Pedro de Tovar rendered his sacred cesarean Catholic royal majesty; and the expenditures which the governor and his soldiers incurred in settling and supporting the provinces of Chiametla and Cinaro.

Departure of the governor; reply of the army and the natives

AFTER the governor had founded the town of Cinaro, very Christianlike both as to manner and means, with harmony, without massacres, wars, or shedding of blood, he decided to subdue, conquer, and settle the province and district of Chiametla.[174] There were many reports of rich mines in that region. For this reason it was coveted by numerous persons who wished to conquer it. To carry out his plans he took leave of the *maeso de campo* and soldiers.[175] He charged them to preserve peace, friendliness, and unity among themselves and with the natives. He warned and commanded the latter to obey the *maeso de campo*, the magistrates, and soldiers, admonishing them that in case they deviated from that which he had ordered he would punish them. To do this he would return shortly with a large number of soldiers whom he had ready. In their reply the Christians and natives promised to obey faithfully at all times.

Reception of the governor at Culiacán

After these precautions he set out, traveling by ordinary marches until the settlement of Culiacán was reached. Here the judicial and administrative bodies and the settlers and Don Pedro de Tovar had received news of his departure. They de-

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[174]This decision was due to the death of Doctor Morones, news of which reached Sinaloa in June, 1564. Mecham, *Ibarra*, 142. Morones died in Guadalajara on February 13, 1564. See letter of the audiencia, February 15, 1564. A.G.I., 66-5-14.

[175]They remained at San Juan de Sinaloa.

cided to show the governor their appreciation for the good and beneficial services and worthy deeds which he had performed in the cause of your sacred cesarean Catholic royal majesty and for the inhabitants and settlers of the town of Culiacán. They met him with suitable hospitality, kindness, and respect; with all possible solemnity, love, and liberality; especially with all the help and succor that would be necessary, all in the name of your sacred cesarean Catholic royal majesty. For this purpose you will always find them obedient to your will.

Aid by Tovar; his merits

The governor received them with much friendliness, respect, and gratitude, particularly Don Pedro de Tovar, a gentleman endowed with much Christian fervor, honor, and generosity. The latter welcomed him [the governor] for the others and expressed their appreciation of his worthy deeds and accomplishments. Without these exploits and without his [Tovar's] aid and assistance it would not have been possible to settle the towns of Cinaro and Chiametla, because he sustained him and his soldiers with aid, support, and comfort, and he did this regularly. Without this succor it is certain that the majority would have abandoned him [the governor] and thus he [Tovar] had a part in the settling of these places by his advice, judgment, and counsel.[176]

When the governor entered the village he [Tovar] took him and the majority of his soldiers to his house. Here he lodged, entertained, clothed, and provided them with everything necessary: horses, clothing, and many other essential things. This hospitality continued for a period of six years. During this time he did not fail to lodge, help, and encourage them in their efforts in the conquest. To aid in this manner, he had a house adjacent to his own set aside and devoted entirely to that purpose. All was aimed and directed to the service of God our Lord, the conversion of the natives, the service of your sacred cesarean Catholic majesty, the increase of the *real hacienda* and vassals, and the common good of the people of the town.

[176]Other chroniclers make note of the cordial relations existing between Tovar and Ibarra. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 108.

Francisca de Guzmán

He [Tovar] did all this at great cost; with much courage and generosity. He was the most virtuous and accomplished gentleman in that kingdom. He was married to Doña Francisca de Guzmán, daughter of Gonzalo de Guzmán, a former governor of Cuba. She was a lady of much Christian fervor, courage, discretion, and beauty, so perfect in every respect that I doubt if there was any one in those regions who could equal her in virtue or quality.

Report sent to Ibarra

From this town the governor sent messengers to his uncle Diego de Ibarra. He gave him an account and explanation by letter of the reason for the extent and success of the expedition, of what he had conquered and settled, and of his determination to settle the province of Chiametla. This would not be possible without his favor and aid. He pointed out to him the great service which he would thus render to God our Lord and to the imperial crown of his sacred cesarean Catholic majesty, the emperor our lord, of glorious memory.[177] To carry out this plan his support, favor, and aid was necessary.

Ibarra gives aid

The *comendador* Diego de Ibarra satisfied his demand in everything necessary, clothing, iron for horseshoes, footgear, and munitions for the soldiers. With all this, a large number of horses and much clothing which he took on account in the town of Culiacán he [the governor] settled the village and province of Chiametla. Without this help I doubt it would have been possible to settle it, because the governor and the soldiers were in great need. He enlisted soldiers in Culiacán, in the kingdom of Galicia, in Mexico, and other places to enable him to put into effect his good design.

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[177]Charles V abdicated the Spanish and Italian crowns in 1556, and died in 1558. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I, 86.

CHAPTER XVI

[Part Two]

Which explains the reasons why so many wanted to conquer Chiametla; and how Nuño de Guzmán formerly established a town in it when Culiacán was conquered.

THE TOWN and province of Chiametla is one hundred and sixty leagues distant from the city of Mexico and eighty from Guadalajara, in the new kingdom of Galicia, where a royal audiencia is located. It is fifty leagues from the province of San Miguel de Culiacán and forty from Compostela, which is north[178] of Chiametla and south of Culiacán. The great mountain range is to the west and at the right hand side going south toward Culiacán. However from Cinaro on, as we go toward the valleys of Señora, it runs east and west until nearing Cíbola,[179] where it breaks. From Compostela it begins to widen and gradually rises in altitude. Meanwhile the farther we go the wider, rougher, the more craggy, and the colder it becomes. The greatest portion of it is impossible for travel on horseback. All of it, or the greater part, is inhabited by people with permanent mat houses, although differing in ways and customs.

This province and the mountains of Chiametla were famous for riches of gold, silver, and metals of all kinds; for their clothing, fish, salt, lands, pastures, and fruits. Ear-rings of gold and silver were found there. These were the things that excited the minds and thoughts of many who desired, coveted, and claimed the conquest and pacification of the land after it was depopulated under Nuño de Guzmán. The latter, attracted by its great fame and by what he found there, subdued, conquered, and pacified this province of Chiametla. Up the river of Espiritu

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[178] It should read south.

[179] The directions are confusing. Cíbola is of course to the north. Cuevas has *corre Este-sueste.* Cuevas, *Obregón,* 97. The correct reading is, *leste gueste.*

Santo he founded a town,[180] which he settled. There he built a church and appointed judicial and administrative bodies. He divided the town and encomiendas among its inhabitants and settlers.

Since the natives were an indomitable people, hardened in bestial and abominable vices and bad habits, they did not consent to subjugation or to serve the Christians. They decided to rise with a great assembly and prepare for war. Consequently in a short time they killed, robbed, and destroyed without leaving a trace of anything in sight. Fearing the punishment which they deserved and which they dreaded on account of having perpetrated such crimes they abandoned their lands, towns, settlements, and houses. They settled on the high and rough mountains and gorges, concealed in the depths of the frightful ravines, gulches, and caves. On account of these occurrences not only were they unable to return to inhabit the town, but they remained proud and unpunished for their crimes, and forgotten for a long time. But they repented at seeing themselves living in the dens of wild animals and returned to inhabit their towns in the parts and places where formerly they used to live.

Death of Samaniego

In this province, along the river above Chiametla, in a little town surrounded by craggy heights, they killed Hernando de Samaniego,[181] who had gone ahead of his general to forage and to secure provisions for the army. This mishap occurred on account of his recklessness and lack of care in failing to march with precaution accompanied by his army, and in neglecting to send messengers to the town to reassure the natives and keep them at peace. He thought it would be a deed of boldness to enter alone with Juan Jaramillo. The latter would have run the risk of being killed if he had not retreated. They pierced one of his [Samaniego's] eyes with an arrow shot. They buried him on the shore of this river. He was a gentleman of great

[180]This was the Villa de San Miguel which Bancroft thinks was near the mouth of the Rio de Mugeres, or San Lorenzo. *North Mexican States*, I, 37, 38.

[181]The name should read Lope de Samaniego. He was an officer in Coronado's expedition of 1540. Cf. Castañeda's account in Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, 480.

courage and boldness. He had served as *maeso de campo* under Francisco Vázquez Coronado in the expedition to Cíbola.

On account of the good news and signs from this province and their verification its conquest and *gobernación* was sought by Alonso Valiente,[182] a conqueror of this New Spain, and former encomendero of Tecamachalco, and by Doctor Morones, a former *oidor* of the audiencia of New Galicia. They were both commissioned to go and conquer it, each one carrying the title of governor and captain-general. Because the salaries and advantages which they desired were not satisfactory they did not want to accept in the hope that your sacred cesarean Catholic majesty would have to grant them larger salaries. Finally Doctor Morones was granted fifty thousand pesos. With this he did not dare to start, fearing the expenses and hardships which are experienced in these conquests. He was right because it has been learned through sufficient information obtained by the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra that he spent on his own account and that of his nephew over one hundred and fifty thousand pesos, and over thirty thousand were spent by private soldiers in the conquest and pacification of New Vizcaya. Remuneration and gratitude is due them before God and your sacred cesarean Catholic royal majesty for this service.

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[182]See note 156.

CHAPTER XVII

[PART ONE]

Describing how the governor Francisco de Ibarra conquered, pacified, and settled the province of Chiametla; how he stamped out the iniquitous sin of human butchery practised by the natives of this region; and how it was settled at the expense of the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra.

Aid from Ibarra; the governor leaves Culiacán for Chiametla

AFTER the governor Francisco de Ibarra had prepared, equipped, and organized his army with everything necessary, such as more soldiers, provisions, arms, horses, and clothing in large quantities, which he took on credit from the settlers and merchants of the town of Culiacán; and after receiving assistance and support from his uncle the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra, without which he would have been unable to carry out or succeed in the expedition and conquest, he took leave of the judicial and administrative officials and the inhabitants of Culiacán, and in particular of Don Pedro de Tovar and Doña Francisca de Guzmán, his wife. He left with his army for the province of Chiametla in the month of April, 1566,[183] during the hardest and most dangerous part of the rainy season.

Reception at Caguacán

Having marched five days he arrived at Caguacán,[184] a town situated on the frontier of Culiacán, which was at war. They had rebelled against the settlers, [friendly] natives, and the encomendero Juan Arias Hidalgo. On account of the great fame enjoyed by the governor among these barbarians he was respected, feared, and obeyed by all. For this reason they did not dare to resist him by force of arms. On the contrary they received, obeyed, and served him. He reduced them to the

[183]The date is incorrect. Ibarra left Culiacán for Chiametla about June, 1564. See note 174.

[184]Caguacán is evidently to be identified with the Ciguatán of Guzmán's time. It was on the Rio de las Mugeres, the present San Lorenzo. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 33, 34.

service of the royal crown of your majesty and to their encomendero, in your royal name, kindly, courteously, and with threats in case they should break the truce. All was done by peaceful means and with great benefit for Christianity; without harm or shedding of blood. They had been in revolt for thirty years and were living contrary to the law of God our Lord. They craved human flesh. He ordered them to attend continually the exercise, practise, and doctrine of Christians and to obey our holy Catholic faith.

Message sent to Piaztla; reception given there

From this town he sent messengers to the people of the river of Piaztla,[185] the first district in the province of Chiametla. They gave him guides with whom the army marched, well prepared and with military precaution, until he came to the first settled place on the river. Here one hundred Indians, well arrayed, adorned, and equipped with weapons and trappings according to their usual custom, came out to meet the governor. They offered him their persons, property, and everything they possessed. The governor received them, regaling and attracting them to his purpose by means of kind and pleasing words and glass trinkets, which they appreciated very much. They expressed their gratitude for this with proper politeness and gave in exchange such foodstuff as was found in their land. Here he was well served and well treated. He made known to them his purpose in coming to their territory and towns. This was appropriate because they live on the frontier of the Christians. He informed them that he was coming to favor, protect, and reduce them to peace, order, and good habits. They thanked the governor for this, recognized themselves as vassals of your sacred cesarean Catholic majesty, and promised to become Christians.

Chiametla—taking possession

This was the first land and town of the province of Chiametla and bordered the Christians' lands. Therefore the governor took possession of the province of Chiametla, which is next to the land of the Christians, in the name of your sacred cesarean

[185]The Piaztla formed the northern boundary of Chiametla.

Catholic royal majesty. This was done by the testimony and signature of his secretary Sebastián de Quirós. He ordered a church to be built and, by his own hand, arranged and set up a cross in the center of the town.

Messengers to Chiametla

When he had reduced them to the service of God our Lord and to that of your sacred cesarean Catholic royal majesty he sent messengers to the river and chief towns of the province of Chiametla to offer them peace and friendship, that they should not ignore the good purpose and Christian zeal which would be of benefit to their persons,—the Gospel, orderly living, and salvation. Having heard and learned this from the messengers they accepted the message, the admonition, and the coming of the governor and his army. They promised to receive him with the necessary presents and obedience. He prepared the army with what was needed and took military precautions in order to resist any harm which might be offered them.

Reception at Chiametla

With this good preparation and with warlike caution he marched down the river. On its shores appeared three hundred men in fine formation and martial arrangement, handsome, brilliant, and arrayed with many feathers, sea shells, conchs, and trinkets from the sea. They carried bows, arrows, spears, clubs, and shields. With this order, concert, and prudence they met the governor and his army, with much respect, good feeling, and politeness. In a short time they presented in abundant and sufficient quantity many native roosters and hens, much corn, beans, calabashes, fruits, and game, and everything else necessary for the horses and for personal use. The governor and his army received them with the proper treatment, gifts, and kindness, offering their support, favor, and good friendship. Likewise they offered to teach them the doctrine of our holy Catholic faith, and instruct them in order, reason, good customs, justice, and peace; to urge them to live moderate, good, honest, and concerted lives; to draw them from the rude and bestial practise, the vicious and dishonorable life in which the devil holds them blinded and deceived. He gave them some gifts, trifles and glass beads, which they esteem highly.

Chiametla at peace; offer of Chiametla

These people of Chiametla have been at peace for a good many years. They regularly traded and bartered with the travelers who passed through their town, and sold them provisions for trifling wares. They promised the governor that they would be obedient vassals of your sacred cesarean Catholic royal majesty in everything that should be commanded them. An affidavit of this promise and of the act of taking possession of this town and district was taken as testimony. They themselves offered to assist in the pacification and subjugation of the cannibals in the mountains, savage, vile, wretched, and indomitable people, eaters of human flesh, so wild that they wear cues and mirrors on their backs as a decoration. However they are bellicose and brave. They live and are found eight leagues from the river of Chiametla, in the rough mountains, gorges, ravines, and high cliffs. They had usually been enemies of and at war with the people of Chiametla. He ordered the latter to build a church and to erect a cross in the center of their town. They built, in good order and harmony, many houses and huts of straw and wood two leagues from their village on the banks and plains of the river above Chiametla, in the part freest from crags and trees in a radius of a stone throw.

Camp established at Chiametla

The army was located and lodged there until the town was founded. This plan was very useful and practical to avoid harm to the natives, to their fields, houses, daughters, and wives, and also to prevent insults, dishonorable sins, and offenses to God our Lord. Such events and deeds often embitter the natives and cause them to rise and kill those who perpetrate such offenses on them. In the same manner it helped to keep the horses from causing the harm which they often do to the plantations. This can be avoided by fencing them in. It was important also in order to be able to use the horses against the enemy in case they should attack and injure those in the camp.

Hatred of Cacalotlán

After having established the camp he [the governor] decided

to visit and reduce to peace the mountaineers on Cacalo Oçtoc,[186] a high and craggy sierra. To put this into effect he ordered and warned the people of Chiametla that they should prepare to go against those of Cacalotlán. This they did very willingly, with great care, eagerness, and joy, because these were the enemies with whom they continuously carried on war; who had killed and eaten many [of their] women and children, relatives and friends, and who had robbed them of many provisions.

When they [the natives] were prepared, arrayed, and equipped for war according to their customary style, the governor provided his soldiers with arms, ammunition, horses, and all other things necessary. Thus provisioned he marched with circumspection and good military order until he arrived at the inhabited parts of Cacalotlán. This they accomplished. Camp was pitched in a convenient place. From that point he called, warned, entreated, and offered peace to the mountaineers. They paid no attention to him nor did his words and promises give them any satisfaction. On the contrary they became more incensed and enraged. Trusting to their daring, strength, and brutal boldness, scorning and underestimating the Christians, they threw dust into the air, uttering unusual, bold, and frightful shouts. They made strange and rash threats against the Christians and especially against the friends whom they brought from Chiametla whom these natives had always been able to frighten, intimidate, and subdue.

The Caribs attack

After these discussions, entreaties, and threats the wild barbarians attacked with terrible noise and infernal determination, shooting numberless arrows, stones, spears, and clubs at the Christians. They showed so little fear for their adversaries that, ignoring the advantages, the resistance and courage of the Christians, they continued to approach them in such a way that in a short time they compelled the friendly Indians whom the Christians had brought from Chiametla to retreat and flee.

Death of the Carib chief; their flight; a Christian victory

When the battle and turmoil had lasted for four hours with-

[186] The word should read Cacalotlán. See next sentence.

out either side obtaining victory, the governor ordered shot a dexterous, valiant, and shameless captain who came rolling down from the top of some cliffs. This caused most of those who were fighting to busy themselves in carrying their captain to his position. As they assembled there was an opportunity to cause them greater harm with the harquebuses. By these they were so badly treated that they would rather have seen the mountain level in order to better safeguard their lives.[187] Not being able to hold out any longer, they fled toward the mountain where they fortified themselves. However they had lost three walls and some strong peñoles and finally, little by little, they abandoned the last one, giving vent to their mad anger with cruel threats.

Destruction of houses and orchards; Ramón punishes the Caribs; the battle; the governor sends aid

Nevertheless the governor once more summoned them to accept peace, promising good treatment, friendship, and peace with their enemies. All this was of no avail whatsoever. Seeing that there was no remedy by peaceful means he destroyed their houses and fruit trees. Thereupon he left them after this bad treatment and the death of their relatives, friends, and chiefs. A short time later he sent Captain Hernando Ramón, a good prudent soldier versed in the use and practise of war, with some soldiers to summon them to peace. To his entreaty they replied by attacking with great courage and desire for revenge because of the past damages. They attacked almost fearlessly, forgetting former punishments. They did not fear for their towns. Thus the battle was greater and more furious than the previous one, with a larger number of killed and wounded, and the Christians were in need of help. For this purpose the governor came out at once on being notified, marching during the night. He arrived at daybreak with succor. When he learned of the battle and of the death of four horses and the wounding of nine Christians he was determined to avenge and punish this offense.

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[187]The construction is curious. The point is that they would have been able to run faster if there had been no mountains.

The tribes surrender; Caribs afraid of negroes

However when help arrived the mountaineers lost heart, with the result that they decided to surrender and to come down in peace. Before doing this they asked and capitulated that the negroes should leave that region because they frightened them and, thus terrified, they did not dare to come down until granted what they demanded. They were asked why they feared the negroes and they replied that they had been informed that the negroes flew through the air and pulled them out of the caves. The governor accepted their stupid capitulation with the warning that if they did not stop eating human flesh and making war upon their neighbors, he would punish them with the harm which the negroes caused and would make it more rigorous and cruel than was said of them. He informed them that if they abandoned their bestial practise, he would protect them against their enemies.

Three hundred natives pacified; a warning; punishment of murderers

Three hundred rustic, wild, and abominable cannibals came down. The governor changed them from their ferocity by good treatment and presents of blankets and glass beads which they esteem very highly. He made them know and declare their conversion to our holy Catholic faith. Likewise he established friendship between them and the people of Chiametla, under the penalty that he would punish those who broke the amity and peace. He would also punish them if they ate human flesh or if they committed the horrid sin in which they indulged. In some towns he punished this vile and abominable sin with the death of a few in order to eradicate such damnable vices and sins, and to serve as an example for those who might be inclined to relapse into this infernal evil. He told the natives to come to the camp frequently in order that they might be instructed and encouraged in good habits. They promised to obey his command in everything that should be ordered them.

People eaten by the Caribs; skulls found at Jamoroa

This was an accomplishment and feat useful and beneficial to the service of God our Lord and to that of your royal crown,

for these wild cannibals were devourers of human flesh and so persistent and regular in this abominable vice that although this province had been inhabited by large numbers of people, they had exterminated them, by eating and consuming them. Accordingly the governor Francisco de Ibarra hardly found five thousand men in the whole province, while in former times more than this number had come to war on Nuño de Guzmán from only one district. At Jamoroa, a small town in the sierra, there were found in one house alone two thousand skulls and a great number of bones from the people they had eaten.

This conquest and pacification was carried out with so much prudence, harmony, and Christian spirit that not a soldier was killed. There were only four battles in which few Indians were killed although some soldiers were wounded and four horses killed.

Eight men from San Martín seek mines

After the mastery and subjugation of this province, eight soldier-miners, most of them Portuguese, set out from the mines of San Martín, attracted by the fame of the mines, and crossed seventy leagues of high and rough mountains on the track and in search of metals, which they discovered and located. They settled on the slopes of the mountains toward the South Sea. These are eight leagues from the old town of San Sebastian.[188] There they found gold and silver in quantity. They named these mines Las Charcas, because lagoons had existed in these mountains and mines. A few years later they were killed and exterminated and their houses and settlements destroyed and laid waste. These were the first mines which had been discovered and developed in the province of Chiametla and the reason why it had not been abandoned by its inhabitants and settlers at that time.

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[188]On Bancroft's map of Sonora in the eighteenth century San Sebastian appears a short distance from the mouth of the Mazatlán river. *North Mexican States*, I, 669.

CHAPTER XVII

[Part Two]

Which shows how the *oidores* of the audiencia of the kingdom of New Galicia had litigations and differences with the governor Francisco de Ibarra on the pretext that he had settled the province of Chiametla without their permission and authority.

Decision of the oidores

After the governor had subdued and reduced to the obedience of the imperial crown most of the province of Chiametla and its towns, the *oidores* of the kingdom of New Vizcaya, I mean, Galicia, were informed of and acquainted with the fact. They lacked the proper forbearance and prudence and became embittered and touched by the infernal evil of jealousy. They tried to certify among themselves that the conquest and settlement of the province of Chiametla, which was within the jurisdiction of their government and power,[189] had been done with too much disregard for authority, with boldness and lack of respect for their persons and government. That is to transgress the law and incur the same penalty falling upon those who deprive or usurp the jurisdiction and authority of other judges which has been given them by the order and agreement of your majesty. They held that in case he[190] wished to settle it their authority, permission, and consent should have been obtained, and that since it had been done without this sanction, it was just and proper that they should retrieve their prestige and the importance of their persons and positions.

For this purpose they entered into an agreement by which they decided to send him a letter of reprimand in which they gave vent to the intensity of their bitter discomfiture and envy,

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[189]The audiencia of New Galicia felt that it had been defrauded by Francisco de Ibarra of new territory belonging to it by right of discovery. The quarrel began before Ibarra's time. On October 8, 1559, the viceroy was given authority to conquer that region and Doctor Morones protested against the annexation of Copalá to Mexico. Mecham, *Ibarra*, 193 ff.

[190]Ibarra.

censuring him for what is contained in this chapter. The treated him as a delinquent and a criminal, when the dee and accomplishment of so great importance, cost, and hardshi for himself and his soldiers deserved praise, gratification, an reward. In the letter they threatened him that if he did nc leave their territory, if he did not admit as *alcalde mayor* of hi district the man they had selected and who must be subject t the audiencia,[191] they would provide the proper remedy, pr ceeding with the necessary rigor against his disobedience an rebellion.

Reply of the governor to the oidores; he consults Tovar

This message and letter reached the governor. He arme himself with patience and fortitude. In replying he made goo use of the virtues of prudence, charity, and Christian forbea ance, healing their impure hearts and appeasing their anger an jealousy. He moderated their wicked intentions with select an Christian explanations of what God our Lord had ordered an willed by his expedition. He told them how his army had bee defeated on the plains of San Juan while in search of and afte news of the town of Tôpia and other information. All turne out to be very uncertain and very different from what h thought, because they had been pointed out as crowded wit people and riches. He had not come directly to the province c Chiametla, but with the purpose and desire of serving God ou Lord and of increasing the vassals and *hacienda* of the imperi crown of his imperial majesty. Considering the weakness an laziness of some of his soldiers who, he realized, would deser he consulted with Don Pedro de Tovar and with the princip people in the army. They decided that he should settle th provinces of Chiametla and Cinaro.

The governor defines his commission

Moreover God our Lord had allowed his defeat and descer to these provinces without his previous intention or desire to d so, and even when he wished to go back it was impossible due t the ruggedness, height, and roughness of the mountains, whic

[191]Of New Galicia.

could not be climbed or crossed by any means.[192] In view of the great service that would be rendered to God our Lord and his imperial majesty, and the benefits and profits which the natives would derive by conversion, good habits, harmony, and justice, he determined to settle those two provinces. Furthermore this had been done at his expense and by his plans, labor, and persistence. He had sufficient authority to conquer and settle new lands. This had been granted him by the viceroy Don Luís de Velasco. Both they[193] and the governor were vassals of the same king, working toward the same end and all dedicated to the obedience and will of God our Lord. His[194] titles and grants showed and declared how he had been named captain-general and governor of all he might discover, conquer, and subdue. In that conquest and settlement, his majesty had not taken part or incurred any expenditure, but had been served, and the imperial service increased with many vassals, tribute, and royal fifths. [He added] that since the truth and real knowledge of this fact was evident to them, it was just, holy, and proper that they should permit, favor, and aid in the conversion and salvation of those pernicious heathen, eaters of human flesh.

Padilla sent against the governor

In spite of all this good and very Christian explanation; in spite of the zeal, the benefits and many good deeds, the hearts [of the *oidores*] were hardened in the fierce evil of abominable jealousy. They sought and gave orders that some one should go and rigorously urge and compel him [the governor] to concur in what they planned. They sent Don Lorenzo de Padilla because he was rigorous and of rough disposition, and they gave him stringent orders. He returned from the trip because of the good news he received of the bravery and fine deeds of the governor and because he did not have people and arms with which to impose his commission. Moreover as he was going to hinder the service of God our Lord, He softened and changed his purpose and anger.

[192] See note 151.
[193] The *oidores*.
[194] Ibarra's.

Rivera's commission; he vouches for the governor

When the *oidores* saw that Don Lorenzo had not dared to go, they gave Antonio de Rivera, whom they had sent as visitor of the province of Culiacán, the commissions against the governor. Obeying the order he made known his powers when he arrived in Chiametla, without imposing his authority or by appealing to the rigor of justice, but guided by moderation and good purpose. The governor received him as if he were a judge of his imperial majesty, showing him great respect and good treatment. He [the governor] satisfied him in every way, so that although there were many private demands, objections, and discussions between them, he wrote to the *oidores* vouching for the Christian and humane deed which the governor had accomplished, for which he really deserved reward and support for his good beginning.

After this God our Lord allowed that there should be peace, harmony, and conformity, and it was arranged and agreed that the appeals in the litigations and lawsuits in this case should be sent to their audiencia.[195] The governor accepted all this because it was convenient for his *gobernación,* considering its proximity, and because the city of Mexico was one hundred and sixty leagues from Chiametla. These and other annoyances, discomforts, and hardships the governor endured as reward for the esteem and gratitude which his honorable achievement and loyal service merited. This reward and gratitude is not given to those people from these parts who do not ask it from your sacred cesarean Catholic royal majesty.

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[195]That is, the audiencia of New Galicia. It was done by royal cédulas of 1573 and 1574. Before that occurred appeals from New Vizcaya went to Mexico. This had been confirmed on May 31, 1567, by Viceroy Falces. It was on Viceroy Enriquez's recommendation that the later cédulas were based. Mecham, *Ibarra,* 196, 197.

CHAPTER XVIII

Which makes known the arrival of Captain Salvador Ponce with his soldiers from the cities of Mexico and Guadalajara and the coming of Hernando de Trejo and myself.

News regarding Trejo

AS THE governor wished to provide the town with a capable person in order to entrust its growth to him, he investigated and inquired for someone who would be qualified for this charge. He heard of Hernando de Trejo from Estremadura, a prudent gentleman, credited with many virtuous qualities in his person, reputation, and life, and versed in the use and practise of war. He decided to write him a letter in which he earnestly begged him to come and assist in the conversion and pacification of the natives. It seemed that at that time God our Lord allowed that some mining property which he [Trejo] had at the mines of Jocotlán should burn down. This gave him reason to suspect that it had been permitted to let him understand that God had taken away his property because it prevented him from helping in that enterprise. As he found himself helpless without this resource and as the governor was offering him a better position he replied to his letter saying that he wished to serve your majesty in any capacity the governor would employ him in his *gobernación.*

Abellañeda's commission; warning given

At this time I arrived at the city of Compostela[196] where I found him because I went ahead to warn the governor that Don Juan de Abellañeda was on the way against him and his soldiers. He had a royal decree, obtained by a false report, which an enemy of his brought from your royal council, in which he [the governor] was ordered to go give an account and explanation regarding seven hundred horses which the soldiers of his army had stolen at the mines of San Martín. He alleged that since

[196]Compostela became the capital of New Galicia when conquered by Guzmán in 1531. Guadalajara later was made the capital. Bolton and Marshall, *Colonization of North America*, 39, 55.

he [the governor] was a man of great power no judge would dare to coerce him or to take measures against him. Desiring to render this service and to warn the governor, I determined to travel alone through forty leagues of uninhabited enemy territory during the rainy season when the rivers are swollen and furious.

Trejo's decision

When Hernando de Trejo saw my determination he communicated his decision and plans to me. I advised and explained how the trip was to his interest and that we should travel together. Although he was undecided and set forth the disadvantages of his limited means and the dangers referred to, it was finally agreed that we should go together, that we should travel light, with only our arms, without being hindered by baggage, in order to be prepared to defend our persons in case we happened to meet hostile Indians.

Statement of a friar; arrival of Trejo and Obregón

With this determination we proceeded on our trip doubling our marches.[197] However I was hindered in my progress by tertians which bothered me at Jalisco. Here I wished to confess as it was my duty and on account of the danger in which I was, due to my illness and because we had to travel through hostile territory. A Franciscan friar refused to confess me on account of the bad opinion which he had of soldiers, because he said they killed the Indians. In order not to show weakness I continued on my journey, suffering hardships due to the warm lands. We watched by turns. Well provided and cautious we continued doubling our marches until we came to the town of Chiametla where we found the governor. He received us with much kindness, pleasure, and courtesy. He lodged us in his quarters where I explained my reason for having gone on ahead. He thanked me therefor and made the proper arrangements so that the coming of Don Juan de Abellañeda was not necessary.

Arrival of Ponce; reward for Ponce; services; his expenses

A few days later Captain Salvador Ponce arrived with the

[197]Obregón and Trejo thus traveled together from Compostela to Chiametla.

people whom he had gathered in the cities of Mexico and Guadalajara. These people were not many because they were given no wages, arms, or any help other than food.

The governor received and thanked him for his good diligence, labor, expense, and earnestness, offering and promising to reward it. If he wished, this might consist of encomiendas and the profits of the land which he should prefer. He wanted to be rewarded for his services in the royal court of your majesty. To favor him and to enable him to marry off two maiden sisters your royal Council of the Indies granted him a captaincy for the wars in Italy. This he also refused because he did not wish to abandon the orphan girls. He was favored with the rod of *alguacil mayor* of the town and province of Chiametla, which is of little value. He deserves greater reward because he spent five thousand pesos in the conquest and pacification of New Vizcaya. He served your royal crown in the things of most importance with much earnestness, effort, care, and at the risk of his life, always with the proper fidelity and obedience.

The governor sent the soldiers brought by Salvador Ponce to Cinaro to take part in the expedition to the plains of the cattle.

The first to find metals in Chiametla

I was the first discoverer of mines in this province when I came from the trip which I made to the island Cardena de la Carniferia. I was accompanied by my father-in-law, Don Antonio de Luna, and the *adelantado* Melchor de Legaspe. This happened before the province was settled. Diego de Guzmán saw the metals in the town of Culiacán.[198] I assayed them and found them high grade. Consequently the find was utilized after this discovery. I made assays while I was a soldier of the governor Francisco de Ibarra. I gave reports of the mines which are today settled by the people who have discovered and settled

[198]The passage is obscure. It reads: "Fui el primer descubridor de minas en esta provincia cuando vine del viaje que hice á la isla cardena de la carniferia en compania de don Antonio de Luna mi suegro, antes que se poblase viniendo juntos el adelantado Melchor de Legaspe. Diego de Guzmán vió en la villa de Culiacán los metales y su ensaye de buena ley, . . ." This is the verified reading. See the last paragraph of chapter XXXVI. It seems clear that California is meant and that the above jumble is an error committed by the copyist in making the manuscript now in the Archivo General de Indias.

them.[199] Large quantities of silver have been extracted from them. From this service of mine to your royal crown has come a large increase of royal fifths.

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[199]On several occasions Obregón states that he discovered rich mines. These mines were not exploited owing to lack of laborers.

CHAPTER XIX

Giving an account of how the governor Francisco de Ibarra founded the town and mines of the province of Chiametla; of the distribution of the encomiendas, towns, lands, orchards, and lots; and of how he took leave of its settlers.

Appeal to the Christian natives; decision to found a town

AFTER the governor Francisco de Ibarra had conquered and pacified the province of Chiametla with such Christian, pacific, and harmonious means he issued a general call to all the native chiefs and leaders of the province. Likewise he talked with all the soldiers that they should make up their minds as to what they wished to do in regard to settling in that province. The rest should think of going on new discoveries which he was going to undertake. His determination and plan was to found a town in that province and to apportion the towns in which they should remain as settlers.

Trejo's excuses

Moreover he begged Hernando de Trejo with much kindness, modesty, and honorable courtesy, to remain in that province and village which he was going to establish[200] as his substitute, *justicia mayor,* and deputy in order that he, by his good industry, earnestness, and care would encourage its prosperity and protect it with the defenses necessary for its safety and growth. Hernando de Trejo declined, stipulating and asking that he be granted the privileges necessary for the benefit and profit of the community, and for the founding and support of the province and its settlers, setting forth as his excuse the damages and annoying inconveniences [to which they would be subjected]. All of this was sufficient reason for his refusal, especially since he offered to serve [the governor] without any appointment. He did not dare to govern and command as he was in such financial straits.

This was an unfortunate situation in a new land, lacking all

[200]In Chiametla.

necessities and without the support of your *real hacienda*. On this account he [Trejo] could not urge or use force with those who would like to escape. Aside from this he wished to learn the will of those who had decided to remain as settlers, and to inquire about his claim to reward for his services.

Mass for founding a town

The governor answered him urging them with greater offers and the obligation due to the service of God our Lord and your royal crown. He asked him to join the soldiers and ordered all of them to attend a mass dedicated to the Holy Spirit. At this mass they should pray and ask It with much devotion to illumine their minds in order that in their meeting and council might be decided that which would be most suitable for Its holy service and for the benefit, advantage, and profit of the natives, the community and the foundation of the town which they wished to establish, especially that it should be for the conservation of peace and harmony; the conversion of the natives to the communion of our holy Catholic faith; that It should draw them away from their bestial, blind, and abominable vices and sins; and that they should be taught and kept in justice, moderation, order, and Christian conduct.

Trejo's offer; Trejo accepts on own terms

After attending mass the soldiers assembled in a house. There Hernando de Trejo offered them his person and good friendship with much kindness and fine words, promising to work for the benefit, advantage, and protection of their persons, houses, and estates. The soldiers thanked him, answering with similar promises of obedience and loyalty in all that they should be commanded. They earnestly begged him with much kindness and respect to accept the position of lieutenant-governor. He answered that he would do it to please them, provided the governor would accept the capitulations that might be drawn up at their council meeting, for it was just that all things should be provided for in order to protect themselves from the Indians in case they wished to hinder the foundation and building of the new town and community. He thanked them for their good will.

That which Hernando de Trejo demanded and stipulated in

his own name and in the name of the residents who were to settle there was as follows: Before all other things he [the governor] should give them their *repartimientos* of Indians, lands, and servants for personal use. He should ask your majesty to approve the *repartimientos* of towns and privileges to gentlemen and others; to approve the twentieth part;[201] and to exempt them from the *pecho* and *alcabala* for a few years.[202]

The conditions approved

He [Trejo] discussed all this with the governor, who accepted these conditions but repudiated the clause referring to the servants. He excused himself, saying he could not grant it because it was beyond his power, but that in the future they would be given a *repartimiento* of personal servants for working the mines and for the use in their houses. He advised that each should take the orphans from his encomienda into service with the responsibility of paying, instructing, and Christianizing them. This should be put into practise when the natives were more manageable and better subject to persuasion.

Title and salary of the governor; he aids the soldiers

After this decision your majesty was informed of these and other loyal and profitable services. Through this information your majesty had the kindness to grant them the things and capitulations which they asked from the governor, granting a salary of two thousand ducats and a new title for his *gobierno*. All this was granted in respect of their hardships, expenditures, and worthy services, so beneficial and profitable for the increase of our holy Catholic faith and of your royal crown. The governor gave them succor consisting of horses, arms, ammunition, clothing, iron for horseshoes, and footgear all in quantity.

The town founded; baptism of the chiefs; meet encomenderos

With this good preparation, order, and harmony the governor founded the town of Chiametla, naming Saint Sebastian

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[201]This was to take the place of the royal tenth which had to be paid on the precious metals or stones found in the region during the first ten years. "Ordenanzas de su magestad hechas para los nuevos descubrimientos, conquistas y pacificaciones, Julio de 1573." *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 164.

[202]The *pecho* was a tax formerly paid to the government by those who did not belong to the nobility. The *alcabala* was a sales tax.

as its patron saint, because it was founded on his feast day.[203] He selected alcaldes and magistrates. He distributed the towns, lands, orchards, and lots, giving each man according to his quality, service, and merit. He ordered the natives to be instructed in the use and practise of our holy Catholic faith. Father Pablo de Acevedo baptized many important chiefs, boys, and girls. He warned and charged the chiefs to preserve peace, harmony, and conformity with the Christians and likewise with the people of their district, with whom they were always at war before they became Christians. He warned them very insistently not to eat human flesh and not to practise the nefarious sin. He entreated them to recognize and serve their encomenderos, introducing the latter to every one of them. He gave them especially to understand that each one of those to whom they were given in encomienda would support, defend, and favor them against their enemies as well as on all other occasions that might arise.

The settlers warned to keep the peace; benefits of peace

He gave the settlers of the new town a Christian talk and warning. He told them that since God our Lord had been pleased to reward them for their hardships and good services they had obtained profit and remuneration; had obtained the reward and gratification of rescuing and saving the souls that were going to be saved. They should consider the reason which obliges them to preserve peace and harmony with the natives. The value, worth, and esteem of all this is well known as is stated and affirmed by the blessed Saint Augustine,[204] who says that peace gives rise to clearness in the mind, quietude in the soul, simplicity in the heart, and a correspondence of love compared to charity. Charity drives away enmity, stops wars, corrects anger, dispels pride, gives consolation to the humble, eliminates discords, restores friendship among those who dislike one another, increases and uplifts the condition of people and of re-

[203]January 20, 1565. Bancroft was confused by certain errors in Ibarra's "Relación." It would appear from this relation that the settlement of Chiametla was undertaken after the journey to the buffalo plains, which was not the case.

[204]St. Augustine's *City of God (De civitate Dei)* may be read in the English translations of J. Healey or M. Dods.

publics; it is the instrument of all honesty, it brings fruits and riches. With it one can attain the favor of God and of nations. It dispels avarice, adds honor to the illustrious, and to those not so fortunate it gives courage that they may become so. It incites the spirit in every one to the service of God. Finally, peace is a gift that everyone desires and loves. For this reason the Blessed Saint says that he who attains it should preserve it and that those who had lost it should strive to regain it; that in the end the benefits derived from it were for the conservation of happiness.

The departure

He [the governor] suggested the forms and means that had to be observed to stop disagreements, wars, enmities, hatred, and dissensions. At the same time he explained how to preserve, esteem, and secure peace. They should conserve what had been gained; be good Christians in every way, God-fearing and obedient to the royal authority. The settlers and the natives thanked the governor for the good monitions which he gave them. After this talk he took leave of them all. They went forth accompanying and serving him until he left the jurisdiction of their *gobernación.*

Provisions in the province

In this province there are plentiful provisions of corn, beans, calabashes, turkeys, native fruits, and cattle which they found had multiplied from those left for lost by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado when he went on the expedition to Cíbola and from those left by the inhabitants of Culiacán when they brought cattle to their town. There are many fish, oysters, prawns, much salt and cotton. The inhabitants derive profits from all these things, especially from fish, salt, the corn fields and the mines from which they have extracted and still secure much silver.

Ibarra's expenses

As the governor had left this province in concord, harmony, peace, and quiet, he sent messengers to his uncle Diego de Ibarra, giving him an account of all he had done and of the pacification of this region. It had been subdued and settled at the expense of his uncle Diego de Ibarra, a knight of the order of Santiago.

For this purpose he gave all that was necessary, in very ample and sufficient quantities. Without this assistance and support I doubt whether it would have been possible to pacify or settle the province. He spent a large sum of pesos. He calculated and found that this sum amounted to one hundred thousand ducats. He encouraged and comforted the soldiers that they should persevere in the subjugation and settlement of the whole *gobernación*. These expenses, cares, and efforts were worthy of the settlement of the whole *gobernación* and deserved much esteem, praise, and reward from your royal majesty and from the people who thereby derived some advantage.

The governor at Culiacán; services of Tovar

When the governor arrived at the town of San Miguel de Culiacán,[205] he and his soldiers were very well received and lodged in the houses of Don Pedro de Tovar and of the inhabitants. They were well treated and attended. They were given everything necessary, in such a manner that Don Pedro de Tovar spent a large sum of pesos in the service of your royal crown. These deeds were worthy of reward for his wife, children, and descendants. Moreover there should be added the services he rendered as captain on the journey and expedition to Cíbola and the support of the province of Culiacán, by protecting and defending it from the enemies who continuously tried to destroy the district, its inhabitants and settlers. He was the cause and means that it was not abandoned by many settlers who lived there. They refrained from leaving on account of his request and because he aided and protected them in their hardships and comforted them in their needs. They suffered thus because the lands were very warm and far from Christian settlements. It is the last of the inhabited lands toward the south. He was captain-general in that province. This he always defended, punishing the enemies who attacked it. Because of the fear of the punishment which he administered they did not destroy it. He arranged credit for the governor for quantities of clothing, iron for horseshoes, munitions, horses, iron, and footgear. This did not include the large quantities of gifts which he gave, or the equipment for the boat that was being built at

[205]Ibarra is now on his way north.

Cinaro. In the same manner he lavishly continued to attend the governor and his soldiers with much pomp, courtesy, and expense. He did not allow the governor or his soldiers to spend anything on the trip as far as Cinaro, which is sixty-five leagues from Culiacán. He was attracted by some famous mines which the *maeso de campo* and his soldiers in Cinaro had discovered. These mines produced eight *marcos* per hundred-weight. He also went to establish some cattle ranches on the Sebastian de Evora river, which he holds in encomienda, and to completely pacify, as he did, the people of Petlatlán, Ocoroni, and Cinaro, in the province and jurisdiction of his *gobernación*.

CHAPTER XX

Which discloses how the *maeso de campo* Antonio Sotelo de Betanzos caused metals to be discovered at Cinaro; a rebellion which began to spread in the army; and the events which took place while the governor was settling the town of Chiametla.

The first military precaution; sternness to secure obedience; method of obtaining provisions

ONE OF the most useful and necessary things for which preparation is very essential in lands newly conquered and settled is to be fortified and prepared to ward off the damages caused by the Indians with the effrontery which they ordinarily display. When those who Christianize them satisfy first their craving, their abominable covetousness, rather than the service of God, security, honor, and the defense of their persons and lives, satisfying first their desires, how can they be constrained and compelled by justice and force of arms to fulfill, execute, and obey that which may be commanded for their benefit and profit? First and above all things should be the observance, fulfillment, and exercise of the things pertaining to the use and practise of our holy Catholic faith, and next the obedience and respect to the royal justice. They [the natives] should not be allowed to feel or think that they are deprived of their goods, nor should this be the case in the dealings carried on with them in obtaining supplies and other things. Furthermore whatever may conveniently be purchased from them should be paid for, or should be asked for with propriety, kindness, and their consent obtained, that they may imitate and follow the example of the harmony, Christian purpose, and good order of the Christians.

Punishment of first offenses

Together with this good order, agreement, and justice, harsh and thorough punishment should be administered in the first encounters and acts of insolence displayed by the natives on attacking. Bravery should be shown without giving them a chance

to suspect cowardice or weakness in the heart of any soldier. This spirit should be exercised in the first battles in order that the acknowledged advantage which they have experienced would frighten, demoralize, and subdue them to things reasonable and Christian. These means eliminate and prevent many barbarous and unnecessary deaths and the shedding of blood.

No trade in time of war

This order and accord was accomplished and put into effect by the governor in the conquest and pacification of that jurisdiction. He gave instructions to his captains that they should imitate him without exceeding this new regulation. Likewise he commanded his *maeso de campo* not to give occasion or permit any soldier to deal or trade with the natives. Sincerity and just treatment of the natives are extremely important in these new lands.

Trust of the Indians; their reply

While the captains of Nuño de Guzmán were slave hunting in this province it happened that Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions arrived there. By miracles God allowed that they should come to those parts. They were accompanied by numerous people who never revolted or fled to those who were being made slaves.[206] On the contrary those who were in hiding and had fled from the captains[207] were induced to accept peace. Although the latter told them [the natives] not to believe or serve those whom they were leading,[208] that they were people who had lost their way, while they, the captains, came in the name of the great Lord. The natives did not believe them, replying that those whom they were leading never tried to take slaves nor did they take other things aside from what was necessary for their support. The rest they gave away, and they compelled those who held captives to return them. For this reason they saw that those who had fled came down of their own ac-

[206]"The Indians ever accompanied us until they delivered us to others; and all held full faith in our coming from heaven. . . . Thus we . . . traversed all the country until coming out at the South Sea." Quoted by Bolton in the *Spanish Borderlands*, 43.

[207]Of Nuño de Guzmán.

[208]They were leading Cabeza de Vaca and his companions.

cord. They [the natives] put more trust in those who did not deceive them and whom they knew to be not greedy.

Evil deed of the Christians

The captains acted so badly during the absence of Álvar Núñez that they fell upon those who were coming in peace and in good faith.[209] This was a case deserving punishment, because even though they are barbarians they want to be sincerely dealt with and given good treatment. In this manner even animals are tamed and domesticated.

Scheme to prevent desertion; insolence shown the maeso

The governor had also ordered the *maeso de campo* not to settle the mines until the natives were pacified and subdued. This caused the soldiers to be very discontented because they could not obtain permission from the *maeso de campo* to settle the mines. Among themselves they talked of abandoning the province. When the *maeso de campo* saw that he could not put them off by good promises he decided to send for some metals which he assayed. He took precautions against the possibility of the misfortune which might ensue in case the metal should appear to be poor. He put a definite amount of silver in the metal with much secrecy and premeditation. When the amount extracted was figured up, it was discovered that the metal had no silver.[210] However this excited and encouraged the soldiers. Thus by means of this false assay he held them, although afterwards they persistently annoyed him. It reached the point where an old soldier from Italy became very bold and speaking for all asked him in an excited manner why he did not let them take advantage of and settle the mines. He demanded whether it was a religious precept to hold them subdued in military manner, without wages and without remuneration.

The maeso explains the assay

He [the *maeso de campo*[211]] threatened this soldier with the

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[209]Although Vaca was able to shield the natives from the slave hunters it was only for a short time. The slave catchers "executed their plans as they had designed." *Spanish Borderlands*, 44.

[210]That is, aside from the amount with which it had been salted. Cuevas leaves out the word *no*, the key word. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 124.

[211]The *maeso de campo* had been left in charge of San Juan de Sinaloa when Ibarra went to Chiametla. See ch. XVI.

gallows if he became unruly and failed to respect him as he should. He secretly assembled the alcaldes whom he charged under oath to maintain secrecy. He informed them that the assay of the metal was false, that he had done it to accredit the land that it might be settled by putting off the soldiers who wanted to leave. Inasmuch as they were representatives of your majesty they should help and lend their services in order that the natives might receive the light of faith, and support the territory. If he had prevented the soldiers from going after more metal it was that the falsity of the assay should not be discovered, for he feared that the land would be deserted if this was known. With these things and by entertaining, exercising, and teaching them the way they should fight, and by treating them with kindness and pleasing remarks, he was holding them, although he could not keep them contented.

The maeso urged to find metals

At this time the governor wrote to the *maeso de campo*, telling him how he had settled the province of Chiametla; that he had left Hernando de Trejo as his substitute there, and had sent Father Pablo de Acevedo on the expedition to the north with the soldiers which Salvador Ponce had brought from Mexico. At the same time he informed him that he should discover some mines, that it was nigh time, and that he should give him an account of them.

Discovery of metals; soldiers repudiate their agreements; are warned

He [the *maeso de campo*] carried out these instructions and gave the governor a written report. To accomplish what the governor told him in his letter he sent out a fellow with a group of soldiers, who in a short time brought many metals of different colors, one of which contained more than eight *marcos* [to the hundred weight]. When they saw that the metals were so rich and of so high grade they became refractory, repudiating the agreements and disregarding the authorities, and with great impudence would not allow the other soldiers to engage or share in it and opposed it with great tumult and shouting. The *maeso de campo* came out of his tent to calm them. As they did not wish to submit willingly he sent them to their tents as

prisoners. The *alcalde ordinario* handcuffed them and did not want to remove these until the governor should arrive. The *maeso de campo* reprimanded him for his childish action and ordered announced that under penalty of treason against your royal crown the mines should not be disposed of or distributed until the governor should come. Not only was this act of no use, but they were so incensed and obstinate in their bad intentions that during that night they planned their bold designs and near mutiny for the following day. Early in the morning of that day the notary called in a loud voice like a town crier, saying: "Come all and let us divide the mines, for there is no one with authority to hinder us from so doing. It is just to fight and to die for what one does for God, for the king, and for the law."

The ruler threatens the rebels; division and uprising in the army; obedience to the maeso

The *maeso de campo* went about cautiously, usually armed night and day. When he heard this man he got up greatly incensed. He came out with a broadsword in his hand, shouting in a loud voice: "To arms, servants of his majesty; and take heed that the one who becomes unruly and disobeys me shall be hanged or whipped!" He left the fortress thinking that with this threat everything would quiet down. Not wishing to harm the soldiers he did not make use of the severity which he could have employed. When he went back to the fortress again, he found them still more enraged and burning with their evil intentions. He called the *alguacil mayor* and ordered him to arrest the notary who was shouting loudly that he was not his judge, appealing to the justice of the king. A soldier jumped in, took the rod from the hands of the alcalde, and raised it on high as a sort of flag. With great tumult the soldiers divided and drew apart. The army was in serious danger. Incensed with anger the *maeso de campo* attacked the notary and brought him down before his feet with two blows from his broadsword. He had him arrested and a couple of handcuffs put on him. At this juncture his valiant Biscayan friends took a hand. The majority of the army acknowledged the advantage of the *maeso de campo's* band. Seeing that he was more powerful, they submitted

to him. The entreaties of the entire army were so many that he did not inflict the punishment which the impudence and crime of [the notary] deserved. In order not to disturb the army or fill them with apprehension, he relented and tried to eliminate other greater inconveniences.

Exploration of the province

At this time the governor wrote that he was coming and that the *maeso de campo* should visit the land, taking along Father Pablo de Acevedo. This he did, having provided for the defense of the camp as well as he could. With twenty picked soldiers he marched until he reached the Mayonbo river which is twenty leagues from Cinaro.

Rise of the Cinaro and Mayo rivers; corn burned

The guide fled, causing them to wander along a stream where there was no road, over sands and crags covered with great thickets and thorny trees.[212] He found the people of Mayonbo very much in need of corn, because a big flood carried away their crops and trees a hundred years old. The river Cinaro likewise becomes larger as far as the fortress. This caused them to hurry in constructing houses. The first one belonged to the *maeso de campo*. They did not dare to build more, fearing the rise of the river. Because of this fact, and the disorder which existed at the beginning in not storing any corn, the burning of it by the soldiers and natives due to the great abundance which there was at first, and the misuse of it at Tegueco and other towns, caused such a scarcity that the natives went about in the mountains and fields seeking herbs, roots, and game to support themselves. If the *maeso de campo* had not kept a supply of corn, he would have been forced to seek and bring it from the mountains. Hunger would have compelled them to abandon the province.

From here he went to visit the villages on the coast. When he had visited them, he returned to the town with much precaution, without any disorder or mishap befalling him. Here he received news of the cattle and of the houses of great height,

[212]They followed one of the upper branches of the Alamos northward, or perhaps the branch of the Fuerte east of the town of Alamos.

and he was induced to go visit them. This would have been too bold.

The maeso fights a bear

When he arrived at the town,[213] he helped the most needy with provisions. As the want became acute the *maeso de campo* went out hunting to succor the soldiers with some meat of which they were greatly in need. He killed many deer and supplied the necessity. Having wounded one the day before, which was lost, he returned to look for it. When he found it, he put it on the haunches of his horse with great exertion since he was alone. He would never have found the deer except for the trail of the vultures which had begun to feed on it. He had gone a distance of two leagues, eager for the game, riding an easily frightened horse. When night came on as he was traveling through those mountains and crags and undergrowth, so thick that it was impossible to progress outside of the path, a bear attacked him with such terrible and furious impetus and boldness, that besides the great noise which it was making through the crags and thickets it made him shiver and his hair stand on end and made the horse snort. To defend himself, he at once drew his sword, greatly frightened and upset to find himself attacked by an animal so ferocious and determined, without noting whether it was a bear or what not. The animal was so near that he could have shot it, but in the confusion, he did not think of the harquebus. The bear turned about, walking sideways, and at a short distance rose on its feet and stood with its arms open and raised as if waiting to fight. The *maeso de campo* wanted to attack, but could not make his horse move, although he urged it on. Seeing that his horse was so cowardly, he went to the fortress holding the drawn sword in his hands until he reached it.

The maeso at Cinaro; his precautions

Here he[214] resided and governed eleven months without attending mass or without having anything to serve as a light except the moon when it shone. Ordinarily they lived with much caution and forethought, with guards and sentries on horseback.

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[213]San Juan de Sinaloa.
[214]The *maeso de campo* Betanzos at San Juan de Sinaloa.

These he came to inspect and question at all hours of the night that they should not grow careless. Likewise he used to go out on the run to visit the country, never resting by day nor sleeping by night, alert, cautious, and prepared for anything that might happen to him. He always had a horse saddled, ready and armed in order to be the first to come to the rescue when necessity demanded. This precaution and care he observed regularly, especially when in hostile lands. Since he performed his duty and was so punctual and careful in the use and practise of war, the soldiers criticised him and were jealous of him. They asked if it was a religious scruple or a vow that caused such extreme military precaution to be observed.

With these good and careful measures and excessive hardships he maintained the town and province of Cinaro seventeen months[215] without receiving any salary or emolument from your majesty or from any of his vassals. At times he governed by good treatment and flattery, false assays, by discovering valuable metals, and by giving them *repartimientos* of towns. In all this he served God our Lord and your royal crown well, Christianlike and faithfully. It was done by his own efforts and means, without any reward for these and other services of much benefit and profit. He deserves great remuneration and gratitude from your majesty and from your viceroys, whom those settlers and we suffer, as we do not have access to your royal presence. Most of us wish to perform greater services, but the lack of means hinders and has hindered it.

Thus remain buried in oblivion meritorious services and men of importance for your royal service. They are robbed of this blessing by the friends, relatives, and partisans of the princes and judges of your kingdoms and dominions through favor. This is a matter worthy of correction and is very desirable if it pleases your majesty.

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[215]This includes the eleven months mentioned above and the six following. On Ibarra's return from the north Betanzos went to Mexico to get his wife and children. By June, 1566, he was in Mexico city where he wrote a letter to the king. Betanzos to the king, June 5, 1566. A.G.I., 59-4-3.

CHAPTER XXI

Recounting the arrival of the governor with his army and Don Pedro de Tovar at the town of Cinaro; the provision he made there for the expedition to the plains; and the reception he was accorded.

Reception of the governor at Cinaro

AFTER having visited the province, rivers, and towns of Sebastian de Ebora, Petlatlán, and Ocoroni and after commending them to peace, harmony, to the service of God our Lord and obedience to your royal justice, the governor entered the province and town of Cinaro.[216] There he was received by Antonio Sotelo de Betanzos, his lieutenant in that district and settlement, together with the judicial and administrative authorities and the settlers and soldiers of the town. The flag was carried by the *alferez* Pedro de Montoya. The *maeso de campo* brought his army in perfect order and accord, the cavalry and infantry forming separate squadrons. Likewise he had a brilliant and picked squadron of wild Indians, adorned and arrayed with many trappings of feathers, beads, conchs, and pearl-bearing shells. He concealed them in a secret ambush.

Festivity on his coming

With this arrangement, harmony, and rejoicing, they received the governor, rendering the honor of the flag and lowering it almost to the ground. They paid homage to the governor with much respect, love, festivity, and music. The infantry expressed the sentiment of gladness and gaiety by discharging their harquebuses. The cavalry began to skirmish, acting in fine manner and in accord. While they were engaged in this mirth and tumult, the savages who had been in ambush attacked, shooting arrows with great noise and shouting. All this caused great contentment, pleasure, and happiness. When the skirmish was over, the Indians danced before the governor in their usual way, making strange grimaces, jumping and performing all sorts of stunts.

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[216]The town was San Juan de Sinaloa.

The coming of the governor was very desirable. When he had been welcomed on his arrival and after he had shown the suitable courtesies to all the inhabitants of the town, he alighted at the church. Here he gave many thanks to God our Lord for the favors and acts of kindness which He had granted them in having saved and preserved them from the past dangers and hardships. He[217] restored friendship among those who were on unfriendly terms and quieted those who were determined to leave. He ordered the building of the church and the houses of the settlers to be continued. He was very much pleased at the completion of the boat which the *maeso de campo* had ordered built,[218] and still more so to see the excellent fortress finished and to have information of rich metals and of Indian towns.

Muster of the soldiers; men for the plains

The governor and his army rested for twenty days in which he provided what was necessary for the expedition to new lands. He ordered a roll-call of the soldiers and servants in the army and selected the soldiers who were to go with him as well as those who were to remain in the town, all with good and harmonious management. He did not wish to distribute the towns and encomiendas because he was taking along many soldiers whom he was obliged to reward for their good services and he wanted to give them good hope of reward on their return in case they failed to find lands where they could be advantageously compensated.

The best province; maeso urged to remain as lieutenant

This province and village are the most thickly settled by better and wealthier people than all other places in the *gobernación* of New Vizcaya. The governor decided to leave the province in charge of the *maeso de campo,* whom he begged with much kindness, courtesy, and earnestness to remain as his lieutenant and *justicia mayor* in that province and town. He did not wish to accept the appointment. He excused himself for three days, setting forth many obstacles and ample reasons to

[217]The governor.

[218]Beaumont also speaks of boats having been built in order to explore further by sea. *Crónica de Michoacán,* V, 541. Betanzos informed the king that he planned to build two boats, but this failed when the carpenters deserted. Betanzos to the king, June 5, 1566.

exempt himself from remaining. He asked the governor to consider that he was poor and that the needs of the soldiers were many, which he would be obliged to remedy and supply. If he stayed and did his duty, he would be greatly disliked by the soldiers and if he did not do his duty, he would go to hell. The clothes, footgear, and the iron for horseshoes which they had left would be worn out. He could not stand the sight of the men tattered and barefooted, without taking off his own clothes and shoes to supply their wants and going in debt for it.

Friends of the governor plead with the maeso; Tovar gives aid

He was undecided for three days, giving many excuses. During this time the Father and Don Pedro de Tovar intervened, entreating him earnestly, saying that he would be doing a great wrong to God our Lord and to your royal majesty if he did not accept the appointment. Moreover he [Tovar] promised him as a gentleman that he would remedy those needs. This he fulfilled, better and more plentifully than had been promised, with such efficiency and generosity that there was no one who went to Culiacán that did not return on horseback, clothed and shod by his hand and goods. Those who did not go were sent these things.

The maeso accepts

After many kind and courteous words, arguments, and threats from the governor that he would use force if he did not accept of his own accord and after the entreaties of the intermediaries to change his mind, he agreed to what the governor ordered.

Some soldiers abandon Cinaro; commission for the maeso

The soldiers urged that the town and encomiendas of the province should be distributed. This the governor refused, encouraging them with good hopes on their return. This was the occasion for the flight of many soldiers. Thus it is better to let them know at once what is going to be granted them, provided this is carefully and uniformly done. He put a stop to the depopulation of the town. As the land had not been allotted, the *maeso de campo* asked permission to distribute some servants from among the orphans. This commission was granted in full,

together with instructions as to how he should proceed to fulfill it with their consent and good will. This was disapproved and opposed by most of the natives of the province.

Tovar inspects the mines

When the governor had provided and prepared the soldiers and the necessary things for the expedition to the plains in search of new lands, he departed, taking along Don Pedro de Tovar to inspect and test the new mines whose fame had attracted him. He caused them to be worked and assayed, and although the metal was rich, it decreased in quantity as they went farther down into the mine. Consequently he abandoned it and returned to Culiacán, after taking leave of the governor.

Departure of the army

The army left the province of Cinaro in the month of June, 15[6]7.[219] This was in the midst of the rainy season. He was to spend the winter along the many rivers, in the snows and heavy rains which fall on the mountains of those provinces.

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[219]In chapter XXIII of this work Obregón states that Ibarra and Tovar set out May 1, 1567, to inspect some mines, whereupon Tovar returned to Culiacán, and Ibarra led the army northward. The time of the year is doubtless correct, but it occurred in 1565, not in 1567. San Juan de Sinaloa was founded in the summer of 1564, and then Betanzos labored eleven months in Sinaloa before Ibarra arrived from Chiametla. On his arrival the governor spent twenty days preparing for the expedition. This would place it in 1565, which is proven by a letter of Betanzos written in Mexico June 5, 1566. In this letter he gives an account of the expedition. We have two other letters written by Betanzos on December 9, 1566, which substantiate these facts. All are in A.G.I., 59-4-3. See also note 332, and Mecham, *Ibarra*, 163.

CHAPTER XXII

Explaining the destruction and depopulation of the town of Cinaro; and the great revenue his majesty is losing by not settling it.

Wealth of the great sierra; its nature and height

IT IS CERTAIN, known, and proven that the riches until now discovered, seen, and obtained are located in the large and rough mountain range[220] which has been traveled and explored from the province of the new kingdom of New Galicia in the regions and slopes of the south; from San Martín to Paquimé, New Mexico, and Cíbola, in the slopes and cold lands of the north. This mountain range in some places comprises between sixty and seventy leagues of mountains in width, in others from eighty to one hundred. It is extremely high, full of brambles and briers, rough and very rocky on the northern border. Toward the plains and on the southern part, it contains outlets, slopes, and torrid valleys. Between its slopes and streams are mines and towns settled by Christians.

In these places there have been and are rich metals, from which large quantities of silver have been and still are extracted. At present there are no metals so rich as those discovered by Antonio de Betanzos and the former settlers of the town of Cinaro in its district and mountains, as has been proven through experience. In the mines of San Andrés, thirty-five leagues inland in the mountains,[221] there were and still are found rich metals. Many miners who settled at these mines were, on account of poverty, unable to settle other mines which had been discovered and assayed farther on in the province and rivers of Petlatlán.

Cinaro is the port of entry to many provinces

Cinaro is the harbor and entrance to the others farther on to Yaquimi, the valleys of Señora, Corazones, Cíbola, Paquimé, and the province of San Felipe of New Mexico. The approach

[220]The Sierra Madre.
[221]This was from Cinaro, it seems. See note 173.

to these places by other routes is hindered by the frightful and high mountain range toward the north, which is eight leagues from Cinaro and from the river where the town was located. To the south is the sea. Therefore the entry must necessarily be through this province of Cinaro.

Route to the north

If one wishes to go by sea to the town in the north or to the provinces which extend from Petlatlán to Chichietic Cali[222] and the towns in the mountains and southern slopes, one is compelled to go by way of Cinaro. To go to the provinces of Cíbola, Quivira, New Mexico, and Florida, one can find a shorter way over better roads and through more temperate lands by going from Santa Bárbola through the northern region. However, above all things, one should go well supplied with provisions. There are fewer people and less enemies there.

Natives at Cinaro; Vaca's opinion

If your royal majesty be pleased to order the settlement of the province of Cinaro, which contains five thousand natives in forty leagues of territory, it is certain that from there one could continue to settle and subdue to our holy Catholic faith the more distant provinces previously mentioned. These regions contain large numbers of people who live in houses with foundations and terraces. They possess provisions and there are large quantities of metals in their lands. I saw and verified this myself in the parts through which I passed and it is affirmed by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in his history. He says that throughout two thousand leagues of land which he traversed, the greatest quantity of metals which he saw was in this great mountain range. It took him seventeen days to cross it.

Increase of the real hacienda; how loss may be avoided; increase of the alcabala

If these lands are settled your majesty will render a notable service to God our Lord and will add vassals, tributes, and fifths in quantity to the royal crown. This I have experienced and seen with my own eyes, and I know definitely from the revenue de-

[222]Cf. note 43.

rived by the *real hacienda* from the mines of this *gobernación,* as it is less populated than that which I have mentioned. Hereby are known and ascertained the advantages which these lands offer, especially for the increase of trade and the profits of this New Spain in order that it may not begin to run down or its wants increase. With the mortality of the natives and the decrease and exhaustion of the metals in the old mines these necessities have augmented. To better and increase its benefits it is fitting to settle the towns, mines, and places mentioned. This will cause your royal majesty to be better served by its vassals, because they will possess more means. Your royal *alcabalas* will be augmented.

Wealth of the land benefits Spain

There are no places in this kingdom better known and explored than those in the great mountain range. In it are found great treasures of gold and silver. We see through experience that the greatest cause and reason why this your kingdom is needy and its inhabitants poor is the decrease of the metals in the old mines. Since they have given the product which they contained and because of the great haste with which they were exploited, your majesty derives less interest and the wants grow and multiply in the republics of these your kingdoms. These needs will continue to multiply every day unless your majesty orders it to be remedied by settling the mines, towns, and lands previously mentioned. In this manner you will effect the conservation and necessary relief of your vassals, *real hacienda,* and of your subjects of the kingdom of Spain, as the people there derive wealth, profit, and benefits thereby.

Aid of king will prevent suffering

All this could be accomplished if your majesty would employ a few vassals in the conquests and settlements which I have mentioned with good leaders and Christian behavior, and by following the order and method which I have indicated, as it is the result of my experience. In this way there would have been reduced to the communion of our holy Catholic faith large numbers of heathen Indians who are being damned because they lack the light as well as some one to urge and teach them this holy conversion and the knowledge of God our Lord. For this

purpose we must pray Him to lend His divine hand to such an important endeavor. I think that if your royal majesty would grant commissions of governors and give them the privilege and power to distribute the provinces they would settle Cinaro at their own expense.

Cinaro occupied five years; regarding tribute

The province of Cinaro was settled and maintained by Antonio Sotelo de Betanzos with much effort, earnestness, and care. It remained settled and pacified for five years and its inhabitants obtained and enjoyed their tributes and products of corn, cotton, and cattle. At the end of five years the natives who were being oppressed and harassed by their encomenderos with too heavy tributes and personal service decided to call an assembly and council of war for the purpose of annihilating the settlers and driving them out of their lands. Although it was determined to do this they did not dare to carry it out, but from that time on they secretly caused them harm, shooting arrows at the horses and cattle on their farms, and burning the houses which were separated from the town. They did not serve or obey them with the customary care and interest. These were all signs of war. They robbed them of all the things they could.

Indians rise and kill Argueta

As the settlers had not worked mines and did not have the resources with which they could ameliorate or supply their needs, and as mines had been settled in the town and province of Chiametla some settlers from Cinaro went there. Others went to reside at the town of Culiacán. When the few who remained saw that they were alone and that the people of Bocaberito had revolted and killed Blas de Argueta, one of the best settlers and soldiers of the town, they decided to abandon the town entirely.[223] They did so. This was a very unfortunate occurrence for the natives, because they were left without religious instruction and returned to practise their idolatries and

[223] Another version of the abandonment of the province is that several Spaniards were killed, besides the two friars, Acevedo and Herrera. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 113. The date of the Indian revolt was 1569. Mecham, *Ibarra*, 232.

their bestial customs. Thus the opportunity of settling the provinces farther on was lost.

Guzmán made captain

In view of the damage which the natives had caused the settlers and that the people of Bocaberito had revolted, it was decided to select and pick some one who should go punish their licentious determination and crime. So they selected as captain Diego de Guzmán, a resident of the city of Mexico, a gentleman of much good fortune, prudence, and courage. He chose and gathered fifty good soldiers, well provisioned with everything necessary. With these men and with a few friendly Indians, he set out with care and military precaution to administer this punishment. When he arrived in the said province he found the rebels gone. They were frightened and in hiding, having fled from their towns and houses to the mountains and crags. They were thoroughly overcome with fear and apprehensive of the punishment which they expected every day. When Captain Diego de Guzmán saw that he could not find them although he made all possible and necessary efforts, he decided to return to the town of Culiacán which he did.

These natives of Cinaro and of the provinces farther on should be dealt with and occupied by peaceful means and the settlers provided with a good fortress, arms, and sentries. They should be well treated and not oppressed with personal services and tribute until they are pacified and taught good habits and until the provinces are well settled with Christians.

Montoya to settle Cinaro

Nineteen years after these events[224] the lieutenant-governor Hernando de Trejo decided, with the consent and authority of his governor the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra, to appoint a captain and some people who should go to settle the province of Cinaro. He selected as captain for this purpose Pedro de Montoya, a good soldier, experienced in military affairs. He assembled thirty soldiers well provisioned with arms, horses, and other necessary things and with these, he entered the province

[224]This statement cannot be correct. Montoya's entrada was in 1583, which would place the revolt in 1564, the year of its founding. Cf. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 113.

in the year 1583. At the time of finishing this commentary and relation they are serving your majesty, well protected by a fort and by sentries.[225] They have asked to be helped with people and supplies, but their request has not been granted. I doubt whether they can support themselves without the favor of your majesty. It will be a notable service to God our Lord to help in the conversion of the natives to our holy Catholic faith.

The cattle are found multiplied

They found the natives quiet and peaceful and were received by them in that manner. They found large numbers of cattle, cows, mares, and colts which had multiplied to over ten thousand head from the few which had been left by the first settlers. They sent their request for help to the governor Diego de Ibarra. Their towns are in danger and since the people are so few, they cannot maintain the settlements of the province without the aid of people and other necessary things. He did not help them because he was in straitened circumstances and because he had given up his office. Your majesty ought to help them in an undertaking of such importance for the service of God our Lord and for the salvation of such a multitude of Indians who are damned and lack the light of faith. From there on the land could be settled by a hundred men properly equipped. May your majesty provide the most suitable remedy.

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[225]Montoya refounded San Juan, calling it San Felipe y Santiago de Carapoa. It was about half a league from the original site. Montoya and his men were soon murdered and the province maintained a precarious existence till 1595 or 1596, when a presidio was established and a period of renewed prosperity set in. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XXIII

Telling of the departure of the governor and his army to discover n settlements; of the preparation he made therefor; and of a wild nation that was found.

Sixty men go to the plains; two field guns

AFTER the general Francisco de Ibarra had restored ord peace, and harmony in the province and town Cinaro[226] he prepared his army, prudently and rightly, with the most necessary things obtainable. There w sixty soldiers,[227] most of them harquebusiers, the rest consisti of foot soldiers, men of all kinds. Among them were very bra daring, and valiant soldiers. The majority of them were poo equipped with arms and other things necessary for such a lo journey. The governor took along field pieces, some ammu tion, iron for horseshoes, and three hundred pack and sad horses. The soldiers were distributed in groups of four and f in their tents and lodgings. Each group took along an Indi woman servant who prepared their meals. In some quart this was done by Indian men because of the lack of women.

Soberanes and Luisa, interpreters

He [Ibarra] took along as interpreter his page, Diego Soberanes, and Luisa, the Indian woman who had been fou at Ocoroni. [He marched] until near the plains of the catt As he did not wish to cause unrest among the soldiers tak along, he did not wish to continue nor to find the rich mi until he had sent the army on the discovery which he h planned. This exploring party was entrusted to the *alfe* Pedro de Anzueta, Father Pablo de Acevedo, and the *conta* Bartolomé de Arriola.

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[226]That is, San Juan de Sinaloa. Ibarra is now on the way to northern interior.

[227]Bancroft, following Beaumont, gives the number as fifty. *No Mexican States*, I, 109.

Time of departure for plains

On the first of May of 1567,[228] after taking leave of the residents of Cinaro and after having dispatched the army, he [the general] set out, at the beginning of the rainy season, to inspect and evaluate the rich mines. He found them to contain eight *marcos* [per hundred-weight] but they decreased in production. On account of this he departed. The governor and Don Pedro de Tovar took leave of each other with much kindness and courtesy. He [the governor] likewise took leave of the inhabitants and the principal people of the province. He earnestly charged the natives to persevere in their new conversion to God our Lord, to maintain peace and harmony with their friends, their old enemies, and the Christians. He charged the *maeso de campo* and the settlers with the good treatment and religious instruction of the natives. To this effect he left them a friar of the order of Saint Francis. He took along Pablo de Acevedo of the same order. He asked them to act as good and firm Christians and to persevere in the good purpose of their deeds in the founding of the town, for it was evident that nothing was worth beginning that did not have a good aim.

The governor takes leave

The *maeso de campo,* the soldiers, and the natives took leave of the governor with great respect, obedience, and affection. They promised not to disregard what he had commanded them, and that in his place they would obey the authority and leader he had appointed in the province. It was important for the governor to take leave of the residents with much affection, due to the fact that he was leaving them disgruntled and displeased as he had not distributed the encomiendas of towns among them. This was the cause for the departure of many soldiers who left the *maeso de campo.* Neither false metal assays nor the news that the governor was returning, that he was near and coming to distribute the lands among them, reported through spurious letters, were of any avail in changing their obstinacy. Since they were not getting any pay, it was a hard and painful obligation to oppose, suppress, and overcome the desires of the soldiers. Thus when he [the governor] returned he found the *maeso de campo* in serious straits and the lives of his men endangered on

[228]See note 219.

account of the few people he had left. With these people, t
good fortress, and precaution he maintained himself until t
governor returned from the expedition to the plains.

The army at Mayonbo; getting provisions; a bold Indian assails five men; cowardice of one hundred Indians

When the advance force reached the Mayonbo river, twen
leagues from that of Cinaro, it waited for the governor. In t
meantime the army was provisioned with supplies. Captain Sa
vador Ponce and I with five soldiers went up the land along th
river to search for, gather, and obtain them. We took some co
in a mountain town named Temosa[229] in the house of an Indi
who defended it with great boldness and courage against fi
soldiers. He came out after us to shoot arrows and injure o
persons and pack horses without fearing the harm which
might cause him. It was an incident worthy of praise and r
membrance for a lone Indian to dare five soldiers. One hundr
Indians who were within sight on top of the mountain did n
dare to come down and fight. They made many fierce and i
solent threats, uttering piercing shouts and throwing quan
ties of dust into the air. By means of their hands and bo
they imitated a fight, shooting arrows into the air as a sign
challenge and enmity. But although the brave Indian called
them for help, they did not dare to come down nor to draw nea

Rich metals at Tevmoca

In this region we found good corn, beans, and calabashes a
substantial flat-roofed houses, although not many. I found ri
metals, taken from the surface of the land. From Mayonbo
sent these metals to Don Pedro de Tovar who assayed them
two *marcos* per *azogue*. The veins are found down the strea
of Tevmoca; up the mountains, near the permanent houses. Te
moca is above the river Mayonbo in the height of the sierra ne
some high peñoles; it was in those houses that we took the pr
visions. The people of this mountain range go about nake
Their little villages are one and two leagues apart and those ne
the river three and four leagues. The sea is twenty leagu

[229]The mountainous area, which Obregón says was twenty leagues fr
the sea, begins at the junction of the Cedros and the Mayo proper, a
Temosa, or Tevmoca, was some distance up the sierra.

from the mountains. About three thousand Indians are found within this distance.

Rio de los Cedros five days from Mayonbo; the ascent begun

After these events the governor caught up with the army near Tevmoca. From here he continued the march for five days through the valleys and rivers of Los Cedros,[230] along river banks of great beauty, streams covered with tall and beautiful poplar, willow, and cedar trees. From these places the guides led the army toward the right hand side up the mountain, through cliffs and gorges thickly covered with growth and of great altitude, through mountains with numerous crags, and through extremely warm, deserted, and rocky country. They reached the crest of the first mountain range on the southern side at the risk of falling down the precipices and after calming some of the horses. The soldiers with much labor and weariness broke rocks and cleared obstructions to make roads and passes for the horses.

War signals; first meeting with the mountain tribes

From this point they could perceive large numbers of smoky fires by means of which it is the custom and practise here to call and warn their friends to prepare for war. In the same manner they notify one another of the enemy who happens to be going to trouble them. Their habit is to respond and gather at the greatest and highest column of smoke. Through this warning and call they assembled at the place where they were summoned. This happened to be in the path of our journey. This was in a good, convenient place. From it we could see five hundred men well arrayed, bearing arms and adorned with feathers, beads, conchs, and pearl-bearing shells.

Truce; signs of peace among the natives

The governor sent the friar with the interpreter and guide to call them. Although timid and frightened to see people in their lands different from themselves, white, black, and on horseback, they came down little by little as they were eager to view them

[230]He was probably ascending the lower Cedros river, the north fork of the Mayo. The village of Cedros is a short distance from the river. "Pine, fir, spruce, oak, and cedar of Lebanon" abound in the cordilleras of Sonora. *The Mexican Yearbook*, (1908), 587.

at closer range but very cautiously and with their bows, arrows and clubs ready. First of all they shot an arrow down the mountain toward the ground while looking up at the sky as a sign and promise of peace. This is the custom and practise among them.

The governor receives them; an harquebus discharged

They rendered obedience to the governor. He received them with kindness and courtesy, presenting them with trinkets glass articles, and a few blankets which they lack in their lands He let them know through the interpreter that his arrival in their lands was to favor, protect, and defend them from their enemies. The natives thanked the governor, promising good friendship and giving some things which they had in their country. However they were more interested in gazing at the Christians, their horses, equipment, and personal dress. A soldier happened to discharge his harquebus at that moment. At its report the natives fell to the ground for a moment, startled and frightened, intending to run away because of fear if the interpreter had not reassured them.

Natives questioned regarding the interior

He [the governor] questioned them through her, asking that they tell him how many towns there were in that mountain ridge and locality; how many people and of what quality and characteristics; what they ate and how they dressed. The natives replied that at all those fires which had been seen, numbering more than twenty, there were towns, large and small. This did not include many others located in the valleys and mountains farther on. The largest and most famous of these is called Oera.[231] In that town are found people much more advanced as regards houses as well as clothing and food.

Terraced houses in the sierra

[They stated] that the mountaineers live in houses with flat roofs to protect themselves against the cold weather, while their own are made of reeds and matting for protection against the great heat which occurs in their lands. [They added] that the people farther on wear blankets made of cotton or of the thread

[231]Oera was located on the Oera river, a branch of the Yaqui.

of young agave plants; that they gather quantities of corn, beans, calabashes, melons, prickly-pears, cacti, many kinds of game, and fish of all sorts. In all this they told the truth as we ourselves saw.

The friar preaches

The friar preached the Holy Gospel to them, informing them of the blindness and misfortune in which the devil held them "subdued and oppressed by virtue of the bestial vices in which he had them"[232] enveloped. They marveled to hear things of such loftiness and begged the friar to remain among them. The governor asked them for supplies and guides which they willingly provided in sufficient quantities. They were paid in goods.

A dark and strange land; wealth of metals at Oera

He [the governor] took leave of these people and continued to march with his army through the deepest and most frightful mountains and gorges which we crossed in that province. They were of strange darkness and very stony, so that they receive little of the light and heat of the sun. In these frightful chasms and caves of this uninhabitable mountain range we found the people wearing deerskins and some agave thread blankets. Most of them go about naked. They wear their hair long, to the waist, and cover their privy parts with deerskins. They wear cone-shaped caps of the same kind of skin. Their abode is in these deep ravines in order to take advantage of the juice of the agave fruit and of the wild grapes. They were called by the friar, by the guides, and by the interpreter, but they did not wish to listen to any reasoning. On the contrary they took to flight, abandoning their rustic shelters. The army marched three days through this uninhabitable land. During this time the soldiers suffered unbearable hardships, darkness, and endangered their lives, because even a few Indians could hinder our passage and departure and kill us by rolling stones down from the heights and shooting arrows at us. But as God our Lord protected and defended us we came to the summit, although the ascent was through high ridges, cliffs, and gorges covered with

[232]The part in quotation marks is omitted by Cuevas.

numerous oaks, pines, and obstructing mounds.[233] There a veins of metals and many signs and traces of them, of gold, s ver, and lead there in quantity, of many different colors a kinds. We found virgin lead and stones with gold corners. W located a vein of such great size that the army could not spa its breadth at the place where camp was pitched. We found in three ridges within a fourth of a league.

The natives came down from this high mountain ridge see the Christians. They wear blankets of cotton and aga thread and wear pointed deerskin caps. The women wear co erings of the same material from the waist down and point sleeveless shirts above the waist. They carried bags of nettin full of ears of corn. They carried their children in sma wooden cradles.

Oera offered peace

In these mountains a day before reaching the town of Oer we found indications of the largest amount of metals and th necessary conditions for mining gold and silver. Here the go ernor dismissed the guides and took others whom he sent offer peace to the natives of the valley of Oera and to tell the to come visit him. He did this before going to their town. Th guides carried out the orders as they had been instructed.

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[233]The party was crossing the ridge between the Cedros river and t Oera.

CHAPTER XXIV

Relating the manner in which the army entered the valleys of Oera and Cinaro; how it was informed of the poisonous plant and of the people who live in houses of great height.

Reply from Oera

SINCE the town of Oera was so famous among the natives of that mountain range because it was large and its inhabitants orderly as well as skilful, bold and versed in the use and practise of war, the governor got his army in readiness. He marched with excellent military precaution and order until he came in sight of the town and valley of Oera.[234] After marching for two days through a valley two leagues long planted with corn fields, beans, calabashes, and melons, all irrigated, the governor lodged his army here in a spacious and level place well suited for defense in case that became necessary. The messengers and guides whom the governor had sent to Oera returned with twenty Indians well clothed and adorned, dressed in well woven clothes made of cotton and white agave thread. The people were more substantial, orderly, and had better customs than those of the other provinces crossed in the whole *gobernación*. The governor received them with much kindness and courtesy, pleasing them with gifts of glass beads which they esteem very highly. They replied in the name of the inhabitants and chiefs of Oera, welcoming him to their town where they promised in their own name and that of the others to show him good friendship and attention. For this reason they awaited him at the town the next day. They offered guides and provisions to proceed farther and warriors to annihilate and destroy their enemies in the valleys of Cinaro.

Precaution at Oera; reception; Oera a good town

The governor thanked them and sent them to thank the chiefs for everything, making them a gift of some shirts. On

[234] See note 231.

the following day the army continued to march. He put the culverins at the head, all in readiness, and went on with much caution and warlike tactics, the governor in the vanguard and the *alferez* Pedro de Unzueta in the rearguard. A fourth of a league from their town four hundred Indians came out to receive them. They were well dressed in blankets made of cotton and of extremely white and brilliant agave thread. They also wore elegant and showy feather crests, beads, conchs, pearl-bearing shells, bows, spears of brazilwood or shields and clubs. They arrived in two squadrons with good discipline, bringing as presents quantities of corn, beans, fruits, and game. With these things they met the governor by whom they were well received and regaled with courtesies and gifts of shirts. On the way he passed through their town with his army. It is made up of good flat-roofed houses about an *estado* and a half in height and excellently grouped. Their plantations are well provided with canals used for irrigating them. They gather a great deal of corn, chick-peas, melons, calabashes, and other vegetables.

News of the houses of great height

In this town of Oera the governor was informed of the towns with houses of great height[235] and of those in the region toward the South Sea. These villages were permanent, and as he [the governor] was closer to the southern settlements, he decided to visit those which were nearest. They were located on the slopes of the mountains and on the coast of the South Sea. By this decision he was forced to retrace his steps and the ascent of the mountain.[236]

Worship of the sun

The friar preached the Holy Gospel to the natives. They marveled to hear things of such seriousness and loftiness. They said that the people in their town and in the others throughout three hundred leagues of those provinces, peoples differing in languages and ways of living, acknowledged, served, respected, and worshipped the sun as their true god and prayed to it to give them health, life, and all that was necessary for the things

[235]The pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico or of Chihuahua.
[236]There is no other evidence to show that Ibarra turned back as this statement would seem to indicate.

of this life. Father Pablo undeceived them in regard to this savage idolatry.

Oera one thousand houses; marriage customs; trading in slaves

This town of Oera consists of one thousand houses and seems to contain two thousand inhabitants. They provided ample supplies and guides as far as the valley of Cinaro. They have four and five wives and do not use those who are pregnant or who are nursing babies until the child is two years of age. They punish those who break this law. They are pugnacious warriors and enemies of those of the valley of Cinaro, Corazones, Guaraspi, and Cumupa.[237] They have many slaves imprisoned in wooden stocks. They exchange these slaves and sell them for blankets, salt, feathers, and provisions, especially for salt, which they do not possess in their territory. They eat unrefined alum, and carry on war for it with the people of Batuco[238] and with those who live on the coast of the South Sea, even though it is over twenty-five leagues away. The people of Batuco make small loaves of a pound and a half which often cost them lives on both sides; those who fight to defend them, or who try to wrest them from the owners. They have large numbers of parrots and eagles, great and small, in cages. There is all sorts of game.

Natives come to see the Christians; view of Señora valley

From Oera the army descended extremely rough and torrid mountain ridges, ravines, rivers, streams, and crags. In most of the camping places the Indians came out to see and enjoy the ways of the Christians and to barter foodstuffs for glass and iron articles. They were more astonished at the sight of horses, negroes, war materials, and armor, things never seen by them, than at the sight of strange people differing from them in race and customs. After marching for four days through abomin-

[237]As near as can be determined the manuscript reads *Guaras pias en muza*, which is meaningless.

[238]The Sierra de Batuco is the ridge west of the Moctezuma river, stretching from Soyopa in the south to beyond the town of Moctezuma in the north. This village of Batuco, occupied by the Endeve division of the Opata, was above the confluence of the Moctezuma and the Bavispe. Another settlement of the same name, also among the Opata, was occupied by the Tegui branch. See Winship, *op. cit.*, 537.

able mountains and hot crags the army camped on the summit of a very high mountain from which they could see two beautiful valleys five and six leagues long, crossed by many streams.[239] These were choice, beautiful, and fertile plains planted with crops.

The poisonous tree in Señora

During this halt I went to cut two tent poles to repair the tent of my companions. When I took the timber from a tree in my hands, I felt a strange itching in them, and on taking the poles to the camp the guides recognized that they were taken from the poisonous tree. Therefore they were very much disturbed and began to make wry faces and contortions toward the tree, telling me to leave it, that it was harmful and very poisonous. Its sap, a milky juice, is especially so. With it they smear their arrows. Those wounded die, suffering great pain and a terrible death, even though the wounds be small.[240]

At the same time the guides informed us that we were in the province of the valleys of Señora and Corazones and that a town of one hundred settlers had been destroyed there.[241] It had been founded by Francisco Vázquez Coronado, who had left Diego de Alcaraz[242] as its leader and captain to protect this passage because it was greatly dreaded on account of the poisonous herb which the natives possess. When the governor saw how fruitless it had been to make the descent and to have turned his army from the expedition to the plains and to have come into provinces which others had discovered he was very much dejected and mortified. In order not to show weakness and to obtain provisions and guides he decided to pass through the province of the Señora valley with more military caution, discipline, and care than he had taken in the other provinces. This was because the people here were emboldened and victorious after the battle and attack on Alcaraz's men.

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[239]If the identification of the route thus far followed is correct the party was perhaps looking down upon the Yaqui river valley.

[240]See note 250.

[241]This town was San Gerónimo, founded in 1540. This reference would thus indicate that Corazones was in the Yaqui valley.

[242]Melchior Diaz had been left in charge of San Gerónimo with about eighty men. He disliked inaction so fitted out a party of twenty-five men and with these set out for the coast. Meanwhile Diego de Alcaraz was put in charge of the San Gerónimo post. Lowery, *op. cit.*, 304-30.

Arrival in the Señora valley

On the following day the governor entered the first settled part of the valley of Señora. There four hundred Indians equipped with arms of all sorts such as bows, arrows, darts made of brazilwood, clubs, and shields came to meet him. They presented the governor with a quantity of such provisions as they had in their country. They were well received by him, although he showed himself reserved and severe toward them. This was fitting because they were victorious and did not show the proper respect, acting as a cruel and triumphant people.

Cause of the revolt against Alcaraz; news of two mestizos

The governor had been informed about them and of the causes for which they had killed the Christians. The natives, although savages, said that they had killed them because they took their wives and daughters to use them for dishonorable purposes, and that the Christians subjected and oppressed them with too many tributes and personal services. They mentioned two mestizos who were living on the sierra in a town called Çaguaripa, the children of the Christians, whom they had killed, and the native women of that place.

Climate of Señora

From this place the army continued marching through this valley along the river for four short days' journeys. Most of this valley was populated. The towns were three and four leagues apart. All had terraced houses made of reed matting, which were located on both sides of the river. They told of other towns. In all these places we were amicably received and supplied with the necessary provisions and servants. The natives ordinarily followed the army, showing great desire for the equipment and trappings of the Christians, especially for things of iron, which they desired to use for working their fields and as cutting instruments. These valleys are extremely hot and craggy, and the mountains are covered with poisonous trees.

People in Señora; languages; faults of the natives

The mines and metals which we found are located twenty leagues from this valley. This province must have over twenty

thousand natives in an area of thirty leagues in length and twenty in breadth. They speak two languages, *caytas* and *pima aytos*.[243] They are enemies of and carry on wars with the peoples of Oera, Uparo, Yaquimy, and those of the coast. The Christians who may happen to venture into their lands to settle or simply to pass through should be warned and prepared for them, because they are extremely covetous, thievish, treacherous, and warlike.

Care with drinking water; provisions; wars for salt

In this valley and among these nations are found the largest number of poisonous trees. In using them to cause harm, they are more skilful than the natives already seen. Likewise they [the Christians] should bring drinking water, for if the natives happen to throw branches of the poisonous tree in the water, it will kill those who drink it. The water should be blessed and drawn from wells and springs dug during the night in secreted places and covered during the daytime. They are feared and respected by their neighbors because they are very merciless, despotic, experienced, and skilled in cruelty and tyranny and in carrying on their wars. They are good growers of corn, beans, calabashes, and melons. The fruits which they have are prickly pears, cacti, and chile. The melons are from the seed left them when they killed Alcaraz's people who used to cultivate and gather them. They pick quantities of prickly pears and cacti and dry them. The inside they keep in the form of seed to be eaten in time of necessity. It is a tasty food. In the same manner they cure slices of melon and calabashes which keep the whole year and which they carry as provisions during their wars. They have little salt. To get it and to obtain women slaves and wives they carry on wars with their neighbors whom I have mentioned.

Uparo; customs; cruelty of the natives

The people of Uparo who live on the coast are savages. They do not cultivate the land. They eat the seed of wild amaranths, game, fish, and all sorts of wild reptiles. Although these people are all paganish and wicked, they do not eat human flesh. How-

[243] See notes 267 and 268.

ever they quarter those whom they kill in war and distribute and hang them in their houses and terraces as trophies. They mistreat those whom they make captives in war.

CHAPTER XXV

Which narrates the notable harm caused by the poisonous tree, its sap, milky juice, and branches; of the provinces and valleys of Señora, Oera, Guaraspi, Cumupa, Batuco, Çaguaripa, and other neighboring towns; the victory obtained by the natives of Señora over Captain Diego de Alcaraz and one hundred men; and the harmful properties of the tree.

Council of war of the natives

HESE bloodthirsty butchers of the valley of Señora were vain with infernal madness because of the victory which they had obtained over Captain Diego de Alcaraz and one hundred men who had remained with him as settlers in their land and province. [They were proud] at having profited by and enjoyed the spoils and to have had an occasion to grow and prosper by them. They craved to take part in another annihilation and robbery. To this effect and to carry out their wish, they, coveting our lives and goods, assembled in their stupid council of war. Here they discussed how and when they should attack and murder us. They decided that only the people of their own town should take part in this affair in order that no others should share the victory, gain, and booty, as though they were sure of success and already in possession of our belongings.

Precautions against the natives

When the governor learned of the evil purpose and hope which they were nursing, he employed clever schemes and precautions to dissuade and make them desist from their infamous and haughty intentions. He explained and let them know by arguments and deeds the advantages which his soldiers had over those whom they had killed, in spirit, bravery, and arms; how they [the Christians] were prepared for the harm which might be caused them by the poisonous herb; and how they had harquebuses and field-pieces. By making the soldiers shoot against the coats-of-mail, leather jackets, and steel armor, which were not even bruised when that was done, he demonstrated to

them that they [the Christians] could not be harmed. In the same manner the soldiers took arrows and with these hit themselves all over. They were convinced by all this that they could not cause the harm which they had expected with their poisonous arrows. He let the soldiers shoot at the target and the culverins fire upon some large trees. They [the natives] were frightened to hear this great thundering and to see how the trees were destroyed and torn to pieces. He showed them, by wrestling matches and trials of strength, the superior might of the Christians over them. Although they appeared merry and joyful before the governor, later they were sad and downhearted and less hopeful of the success of their plan of war.

Second native war council

On account of this and because greed, the work of the devil, had taken a firmer hold on them, they again assembled in a council of war to discuss two things. First, that since the Christians wore armor they should not fight with bows and arrows, for they would not be useful or effective. Second, that they should deceitfully lead the army to the high, rough part of the mountain range, pretending that it was the best and most populated part of the mountainous district. They wanted to take them [the Christians] to a place where they could not make use of their horses on account of the great roughness and rocky condition of the mountain ridge and valley of Çaguaripa.[244]

Escape of the Christians; names given the Christians

On arriving at this place the guides left the army and the inhabitants concealed themselves, together with their provisions, women, and children, the utensils of the houses and personal articles, abandoning Çaguaripa and hiding. All these preparations, schemes, and demonstrations which the governor showed the natives, were the ways and means of sparing our lives, for if they should fight with poisonous arrows, I have no doubt that we would have been destroyed since they were so numerous. They called the Christians men of iron, and gods of the thunder and lightning from heaven.

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[244]This reference points to the future. The army has not yet reached Çaguaripa. See note 255.

Destruction of Alcaraz's party

They destroyed, demolished, and plundered the city which had been established in this valley, and they killed Captain Diego de Alcaraz and one hundred men whom Francisco Vázquez Coronado had left settled there.[245] This was the result of disorders and offenses which they caused the natives, such as dishonoring their wives and daughters as well as imposing too heavy tribute and exacting too much personal service from them. It was also due to the lack of discipline observed in taking their provisions and wasting them, by taking the goods without paying for them and without their consent.

Death of Alcaraz; destruction of the town

The greatest evil which they caused the natives was to corrupt them and to undermine their hearts with the poison and ill feeling of jealousy, because they stole, took away, and used their wives and daughters. [They did this] with great licentiousness and openness. I have been assured by those who were present that when the enemy entered and destroyed the town, the captain was lying with two Indian women who helped him put on a *lequaquipil*,[246] a protecting cotton garment. Between the seams of the *lesquaquipil* they gave him two arrow wounds of which he died in a short time. He had been warned of the battle and attack, but being dull and obstinate in his blindness, he failed to take measures for the defense and conservation of their lives. This is attributed to the fact that God our Lord willed it in order to punish, as He did, their loose conduct and the iniquitous example which they were giving to people whom they were to discipline and attract to our holy Catholic faith. This battle and destruction took place at night, very suddenly, and they were not given time to escape or to defend themselves because it was dark and they had no fortress. They plundered and destroyed everything in the town without leaving a person alive in it. Only a priest and five soldiers escaped, and like a brave man, he defended these from their enemies with a broadsword. He brought them to the land of the Christians through his courage and earnest efforts. After this battle they [the sur-

[245]Cf. chapter XXIV.
[246]Cuevas spells it *escuaguipil*. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 152, 153.

vivors] marched at night and hid themselves by day until they reached Culiacán, two hundred leagues from the province where the battle took place. Information of all this was brought by Ureña, one of the five who escaped with the priest.

Plans of the natives

Monday morning there came to the camp two hundred Indians from the province which destroyed the town and Captain Diego de Alcaraz's men. They had left four hundred Indians crouched and concealed in some corn fields and a stream near the camp. They were well equipped and provided with their usual weapons of all kinds and with cord to bind and carry us away. With this evil plan in mind, they came into the camp downcast, frightened, and submissive, having planned and agreed to embrace us as a sign of peace and, while we were scattered through the camp, to fall upon us, six or eight upon each soldier. When this tumult, impetus, and assault should occur the four hundred who were in hiding should come to carry out the evil intentions of the natives.

Warning of the ambush; the natives stopped; their reply

Before they succeeded in making the false embrace a young servant saw the ambush and the place where they were concealed and came hurriedly to the camp to warn the general and governor. So in order to take measures against the harm which might be caused it was necessary for Father Pablo to hurry with the mass which he happened to be saying. Without any disturbance the governor ordered the army to assemble and organize in good order to resist the deceitful and false embrace of the enemy. When the latter arrived, to their great surprise, he commanded them through the interpreter not to enter the camp until they had listened to what he wanted to tell them. When they had stopped he calmly and smilingly informed them that his God had let him know the wicked purpose which they and those in ambush cherished. If they intended to carry out their plan they should not tremble, be downcast, or approach the Christians until they had been joined by those whom they had left in hiding. They should send word for them to come. They were surprised, abashed, and much more humiliated than before, looking at each other without knowing what to say, what

to decide in regard to their plan, or what to answer. They did not dare undertake the execution of their wrathful and nefarious scheme. Although so timid they did not let go of their bows and arrows. They were uneasy, looking around in all directions. Finally one of the boldest replied in the name of all that they had not come to do harm but to accept peace and friendship. Those who had remained behind had begged and persuaded them to help them kill the Christians.

Belief in thunderbolts

This angered the soldiers to such an extent that they importuned the governor to permit them to open battle in order to annihilate and punish them for their bold intentions and to make themselves feared by them and by the other natives. The governor did not wish to grant this, in order to avoid bloodshed, wars, and disturbances. He quieted the Christians and the natives with good means and much prudence. The latter notified those in the ambush of the reversal of fortune from what they had expected in their plans against the Christians. The governor told the Indians not to hinder the coming of those who were in hiding. They replied that they were being warned, so they might escape the punishment he could inflict on them for their intended harm. The governor reassured them as well as he could. They went away sad, dejected, and disappointed for having failed to carry out their evil designs. The governor told the natives he was not punishing them because they were few.[24] They had already seen the bolts of fire and the harquebuses which God had given them to punish those who molested or harmed them. By virtue of this protection they came without fear of large numbers of people. They did not fear the damage which all the natives put together could cause them. Everything they said in secret their God made known to them. The natives could not help believing all of this to some extent and were convinced that they could not seize them [the Christians] bodily.

The poisonous tree of Señora

In these provinces about twenty leagues from the river and

[247]That is, he did not want to take advantage of the Indians when they were not all there.

towns of Yaquimi and forty leagues from Mayanbo going west from Cinaro and Chichilticcali toward Cina,[248] coming from Cíbola to the valleys of Corazones, Señora, Guaraspi, Cumupa, Batuco, Chuparo, Çaguaripa, Horeco,[249] their surroundings, districts, and towns, there has been discovered, seen, and experienced the strangest and most terrible poisonous tree known to exist in the world. Nothing similar or equal is mentioned in any history or relation, for besides its strange and noxious nature and properties, it grows and is found in over three hundred leagues in the mentioned districts. This does not include those that have not been discovered, explored, or traversed. There are large numbers of them [these trees] and they are extremely dangerous and can easily be used to cause great harm. Those who may visit these provinces are subject to the danger of their toxin and poison.

Danger of sleeping in its shade; poisoned arrows

The tree is always green, beautiful, and flowery. It is two *estados*[250] high, more or less. Its leaves are almost like those of the olive tree but a lighter green. He who falls asleep under its shelter puffs up and dies from the swelling if he is not given some medicine as a cure. Its sap is white and coagulated like sour milk. It is extremely harmful and poisonous, containing pernicious qualities. When the arrows are dipped in it the wounds they inflict, however small, occasion such terrible and painful suffering that the injured die in wild convulsions. If the wound is on the legs or arms, the flesh falls to pieces because it cancerates and rots and drops from the places where the sore is, even though the poison may not have done more than touch or contaminate the blood of the bruise for a moment. It is a re-

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[248]Cuevas has *Cana. Ibid.*, 155. It is difficult to make anything out of this passage except that the poisonous tree was found over a large area.

[249]Cuevas fails to divide his words properly. He has *Patuco, Caguri* and *Pahoreco. Ibid.*

[250]Cuevas makes this read *doce estados. Ibid.* The poison tree is named and described in the Rudo Ensayo. "*Mago*, en lengua Opata, es un arbol pequeño, mui lozano de verde, y hermosa á la vista; pero contiene una leche mortal que á corta incision de su corteza brota, con la que los Naturales suelen untar sus flechas; y por esto lo llaman hierba de la flecha, pero ya pocos lo usan. Sirbe tambien dicha leche para abrir tumores rebeldes, aunque no lo aconsejara, por su calidad venenosa." *Rudo Ensayo . . . de la Provincia de Sonora,* (ca. 1762), San Augustin de la Florida, 1863, 64, 65. Cf. Winship, *op. cit.*, 537, 538, 541.

markable fact that if it is brought near a wound or close t blood in any limb, it rushes to it with strange swiftness and ra pidity as if it were a living organism.

Drawing the sap; fish and game killed

The natives take care not to approach the tree when the draw its sap on account of the damage which it often causes For this reason they fell the tree from a distance with stones and when it is down the sap, with which they smear their ar rows, trickles forth of itself. They throw the branches int rivers, streams, ponds, and lagoons to kill, as they do, every kin of living game which dies soon after having tasted its juice o after having drunk the water which has been touched by it branches. Hardly any grass or trees grow near or beneath it shade. It does not change or shed its leaves like other trees, no can the change be noticed, as this takes place little by littl within a long time. It is always green.

Death of the wounded

The wounds caused by an arrow dipped in this poisonou sap if inflicted on the head or body are incurable and the enem dies of them within a short time with much swelling and in ter rible convulsions. Some die within twenty-four hours. The sam is true of any kind of animal. If the wounds are in a differen part or limb, they last twenty years without ever healing com pletely. The sores heal and then reopen again many times a happened to Pedro de Montoya.

An antitoxin

The danger from this poisonous tree brought great fear t all. The governor tried to find out if there was a medicinal rem edy or antidote against it, or what the natives applied to th wounded. This was at the time when we were in the last par of the provinces where such a remedy is found. A native sai that there was a root with which they are all provided and whic they esteem very highly. He asserted that it was beneficial t relieve the pain and to save the lives of the wounded, which wa affirmed by the other natives. No test of this root was made, a the governor would not allow it to be tried on an Indian sinc

they would see how they [the Christians] cured themselves and what remedies there were against this very dangerous tree.

In its appearance this medicinal plant has leaves like those of the herb used to cure piles; its flower is yellow like that of the common-cress of Castile. The natives affirm that they dissolve this root in water and drink the solution and that when it is thrown into the fire, it relieves pain and suffering; that these are likewise relieved by drinking quince juice; that in order to stop the danger and poison in the arrow cuts the wounds should be cut out and the parts affected tied with cotton string and covered with raw corrosive sublimate twice or until the injured and damaged flesh should disappear.*

The tree not found in cold lands

This poisonous tree is not found nor does it grow in cold lands. However by exchange the natives within twenty and even thirty leagues make use of it. Those who happen to travel through the provinces where the poisonous tree is found should be warned and on their guard. They should look for it along the rivers, streams, swamps, and lagoons. The water which they may have drawn by their hands should be from a secret spring which the natives should not have seen or learned about. This is important for the protection of the water that it may be free from contamination by the poisonous plant which the natives might cast into it.

Guaraspi; seven hundred houses

From this valley the army marched for three days through small towns of terraced houses with walls one and a half *estado* high, located in warm lands and hills covered with small oak trees. On the following day the army reached Guaraspi,[251] a town well populated with clothed people and more advanced than those met before. The town consists of six hundred terraced houses with adobe walls. It had well planned streets and irrigation canals for their plantations. They wear blankets made of cotton and agave thread. From the latter they make heavy well woven blankets which served us as tents in lieu of

*The Rudo Ensayo mentions an effective antidote under the name *caramatraca*. Page 65.

[251]Guaraspi was in the Yaqui valley, a five days' march below Cumpas.

canvas. The women wear short skirts of deerskin well tanned and painted in different colors; they go naked from the waist up. These people cultivate and sow their lands in the same manner as those left behind and enjoy the same provisions, mountains, pastures, fruits, and game. They are greedy, thievish, careful, and very skilful and versed in the art and practise of war. This is due to the fact that they are neighbors of the most valiant and daring people in those provinces. These are the Querechos, who follow the cattle. They began to put into practise what they had discussed in their council of war, for they began to steal our horses and were spying on our sentries. They took us to the high and rough part of the sierra, feigning that it was the best and the most populated land of all. They follow and spy on the army hoping to catch us unawares or sleeping. As the guard was mounted and provided with little tinkling bells, they did not dare to start the battle in the ten days which they remained in hiding, planning to kill us and to win the victory and the spoils. This continued until we came to Çaguaripa. In this town the battle was fought, the opportunity which they had awaited for thirteen days.

From Guaraspi the army continued to march through small towns of one and two hundred terraced houses of the same type, quality, and arrangement as the others. In these towns the natives came to meet the army with provisions, and to barter for what we had. This afforded them the occasion to give everyone a little to eat of the things they had in their land and an opportunity to see and enjoy the ways and the dress of the Christians.

Cumupa; five hundred houses; cruelty of its people

From this town the army marched to Cumupa,[252] a five days journey from Guaraspi. It is a town of five hundred houses. In their attire and mode of living the people follow those of Guaraspi. Here two hundred good looking men, well equipped with arms, clothes, and feather adornments, came to meet the army. They are a warlike people as was to be expected from neighbors

[252]Cumupa may have been identical with Cumuripa. If so Sahuaripa and Çaguaripa were also identical.

of the Querechos.[253] This could be seen from the trophies which they had in their town and their houses made of high timbers. Dead bodies, heads, arms, legs, tongues, and ears were hanging in the streets and prominent places. These were distributed and scattered in all streets. They do this as cruel and murderous people. It was said that they had had a battle with their enemies and gained a victory over them three days before. The latter had assaulted a town, and when informed they came out to meet them and routed them. They killed them and took away the booty, spoils, and slaves which they had taken, and as a sign of victory had hung up the limbs of their enemies. This settlement has a valley one league in extent entirely given over to irrigated fields. In its neighborhood are found four small towns from one to two leagues apart as was pointed out to us and as we could guess from indications and columns of smoke.

The best and most thickly settled part of Señora

From here the army marched one day. During this journey we passed through and examined three hamlets of the same type, customs, and construction as the town of Cumupa. These marches "of the governor and the army from the valley of Señora to Çaguaripa were over the best and the most populated lands of all those"[254] seen in these provinces by the governor Francisco de Ibarra. From this point the army went on over high mountains, warm and craggy. Some horses became exhausted and some fell down the precipices. I was unable to go up one third the distance on account of the load and exhaustion. As it was impossible for me to continue and not wishing to have my courage belittled, I was forced to remain behind, concealed in a crag as if left to die. This continued till night when I recovered strength and courage to mount a horse and reached the camp. They thought that I had been killed by the enemy and I was well received and kindly treated for the suffering I had endured. The army reached Çaguaripa[255] where the natives had agreed to abandon the army in order to kill the Christians. On

[253]He evidently gets his name Querechos from his knowledge of Coronado's expedition and here applies it to any wild tribe, much as the Mexicans used the name Chichimecas.

[254]The part in quotation marks is omitted by Cuevas.

[255]Çaguaripa was probably located in the Sahuaripa range.

account of the great roughness of the land and the harm that was expected from the enemy the army marched with special precaution.

CHAPTER XXVI

Which explains how the natives of the valleys of Señora, Cumupa, Guaraspi, and other neighboring districts revolted; and a lucky battle and victory which the governor and six soldiers won over six hundred Indians.

Council of war in Señora valley

IN THE discussions and stupid war councils of the wrathful barbarians of the valleys of Señora, Cumupa, Guaraspi, and of the other towns it was agreed that as soon as the army reached the valley of Çaguaripa the guides should abandon it and no native should provide the Christians with guides or provisions. All were to say that the sierra was populated with towns and that the land was level; and they should shoot and kill the Christians, their servants, and the horses which might be found straying beyond the camp. They led the army to the high and rough part of the mountainous region that the soldiers would be unable to use their horses. Accordingly it happened that the valley was surrounded by high ridges, deep ravines, cliffs, and frightful rocks which were crossed only with much difficulty and hardship. Here they [the Christians] would be unable to run or to fight the natives. Likewise it was decided in their war pact that they should give battle and kill the Christians in this valley of Çaguaripa and that the spoils should be divided into four parts and distributed among the four best and largest villages of this valley of Señora.

Promise to deliver two mestizos

The people of this valley had promised to deliver the two mestizos to the governor, but they declined to do it fearing that he might take them along and thus learn of the confederacy and agreement directed against the lives of [the Christians]. For this reason they hid the mestizos and gave some excuses.

Flight of guides; women and children hidden; smoke signals

The governor asked for them with kind words but as this

was of no avail, he tried to demand them with harsh threats. This further irritated them [the natives], who were eager for the battle in order to inflict the damage which they had planned. For this reason the guides fled. They [the natives] abandoned their town and houses and hid their women, children, and supplies in such a manner that not an Indian or a living soul could be found. They did not leave anything of value in their houses. Through war signals employed by them and recognized in their method of warfare, they signaled one another from the different towns and provinces. According to their military customs, they called one another by means of smoke columns to the gathering and league agreed upon in their war council in order to kill the Christians. By means of these fires they communicate with and understand one another easily.

The first offense; horses wounded

I was on guard that night and I warned the general that it would be well to appoint mounted guards and sentries for the greater safety of the horses of the army. The first damage which the Indians would attempt would be on the horses, which went loose about the field. That was what happened. On the following day at early dawn they shot fourteen horses that happened to be somewhat distant from the camp. They shot them with such cruelty that each horse had from ten to fifteen deadly arrows sticking in its body. The arrows were standing up and had been treated with the sap of the poisonous herb. For this reason the horses became mad and began to run, roll on the ground, kick, curvet, and groan. All died within twenty-four hours and at about the same time.

Certainty of the rebellion; the Christians are challenged

Thus the general understood that the uprising of the natives was true. In order to be more certain he sent scouts from the army down the valley. They found the people of Çaguaripa in arms, organized and prepared for war, and so filled with courage and boldness that they replied to the entreaties of the scouts with great shouting and by throwing stones, arrows, and dust in the air. These are signs of challenge. Not wishing to exceed the mission given them by the general the scouts decided not to punish the rage of the infuriated Indians. On the con-

trary they returned and reported to the general what they had seen.

Purpose of the general; six soldiers prepared; they obey

When the governor saw the resolution and impudence of the natives, he decided to bring them to their senses by showing them the determination, courage, and bravery of his soldiers. He wanted to demonstrate the advantage which the Christians had over the emboldened barbarians who were insolent on account of the victory which they had won over Alcaraz's men. To carry out his plans and to teach the natives a lesson, he selected six brave and valiant soldiers and two negroes well arrayed and provided with arms and good horses in order to go punish those who had revolted at the town of Çaguaripa. He prepared these soldiers, encouraging and charging them to commit themselves to God our Lord with true fervor and a clean heart and to supplicate His favor and aid to be victorious over the people of Çaguaripa. He asked them to do their duty as good soldiers, trusting that they would fulfill their mission with all the loyalty and effort necessary to accomplish the task for which he had selected them. He urged them to punish the people of Çaguaripa in order to gain prestige and to inspire fear in them and the other natives who were absent, that they would not dare harm or attack the Christians. At the same time he and the six men were risking their lives to save the others from death that they might depart and seek shelter in the valleys less populated by Indians where the return to Christian lands would be safer and closer. The six soldiers promised their general to obey in every way; to do their duty and to put forth their best efforts with care and obedience without exceeding his command while serving under him.

The stronghold of Çaguaripa

This valley and town of Çaguaripa is on the frontier of the Indians of the plains. These people are very skilful, warlike, and better versed in the use and practise of war than all other people in the provinces as far as the vaqueros, called Querechos. Their neighbors are their enemies and they make war upon them. They are respected and feared by their opponents because they are more valiant than all others. This is a strong

town. It is surrounded on two sides by a rough and deep ravine which girds and protects it on the east and west sides. At the end of and above this gorge there is a fortress made of four houses built in the form of a square. They are large and strong, with stout walls and a large patio in the center. At the end of the town and at the bottom of the ravine are many crags covered with numerous groves of wild, as well as fruit trees.

Six hundred warriors in Çaguaripa

In this house and fortress were six hundred brave and angry Indians, all ready for war and determined to defend their persons, women, children, houses, and property. They had placed their women and children on top of the fortress and supplied them with quantities of stones, clubs, and brazilwood spears. In order to fight at close range the governor searched for an ascent which he found to be very difficult and dangerous. This path was gained after much effort, for it was defended by the enemy with quantities of stones, arrows, and clubs. This defense did not help them any as it was taken, much to their displeasure.

Peace offered; battle at Çaguaripa; the women hidden

When he [the governor] reached the top he warned and offered them peace, promising firm friendship. This was done through the interpreter and by the requisition of the secretary Lerma. All this lasted half an hour. The deposition whereby the damage inflicted on the natives was justified was put down in writing three times. They did not want to listen to reason. They attacked with a terrible and diabolical impetus, with tumult, frenzy, boldness, bravery, and courage. With this and the numerous stones which they threw from the top of the fortress, they did not cease to vex the governor. To protect himself from these stones and to gain a breathing spell and organize his soldiers, since they were fatigued and out of breath from the hardship of the ascent and from defending themselves, the general took refuge beneath the crags and fruit trees. After this he planned and commanded them to march ahead very cautiously, firing their harquebuses against the enemy. They were well armed and brought their horses in case it became necessary to fall back. The animals were conducted by two negroes who

followed them. They went on gradually through the numerous crags and fruit trees which protected them from the many arrows and stones which were thrown from the fortress, until they came within sixty paces. They prayed and invoked the favor and aid of God our Lord, of His holy Mother and of the blessed Santiago, through whose favor and help they, in a short time, with vigor, diligence, and bravery, compelled the natives to abandon the top of the fortress and the terraces on account of the damage inflicted upon them by the harquebuses. They brought down their women and children, who disappeared and hid without our knowing where.

The Indians fight without order

When the enemy saw the enormous damage which the Christians inflicted on them with the harquebuses and that their poisonous arrows did not cause their opponents any harm, they thought they would try to use a larger quantity of stones. These they poured down on the trees where the Christians had taken refuge. Had the Indians fought with order, skill, and discipline there is no question but that they might have been able to celebrate the victory because they could easily surround the poor place where they [the Christians] had taken refuge. They could have taken the ascent and when the ammunition gave out they [the Christians] would be unable to defend themselves or to retreat. Had they taken this precaution and fortified themselves in their fortress, the Christians would have perished. But as God our Lord defends and protects those who are guided by true faith He does not permit the natives to succeed and carry out such plans. By merely throwing a branch of the poisonous tree into the water of the rivers and springs from which they must drink that would be enough to kill and destroy large armies.

The enemy lose heart; they withdraw

When the enemy saw that their allies were decreasing in number and fleeing, fearing the harm inflicted on them by the Christians, and that the courage and bravery of the latter were increasing; and when they saw their superiority and predominance over Alcaraz's men, they said that we had been warned of the harm they had done to Captain Diego de Alcaraz with their

poisonous arrows, of which they were so boastful in their wars, and that we were prepared and protected against them by wearing iron armor. They concluded that it was of no use to fight so brave and well protected Christians. They had experienced this in the fight of so few against so many. For these reasons they decided to withdraw. This occurred when their captain, who had encouraged his people very earnestly, and who fought at their side, had just been killed. As soon as he died they gave up the fight, became disheartened, and abandoned their fortress, houses, and town.

Victory of the Christians

As a result of this the governor attacked the fortress and the houses with his six soldiers, singing and rejoicing over their lucky victory. He came with such swiftness that he did not give them time to take away what they had of value in their houses. Those who insisted on taking it had no retreat. On account of this they threw themselves from a high precipice with deep gorges, falling on top of one another. The governor did not let any harm come to those who surrendered.

A guide is taken; he dies of rage

The general tried to take an Indian alive that he might be used to guide the army. One was found, a brave and robust young man. He was hiding in a dark backroom and when discovered by the Christians, defended himself and avoided being taken. He used his arrows until they gave out and then taking a club, tried to escape through the door. He fought and defended himself until apprehended. This was done without hurting or giving him a blow. They tied and took him to the camp, putting him behind the negro on the horse he was riding. Seeing himself carried away thus bound and in the hands of his foes he died from fear or anger before arriving at the camp. His death was greatly felt because there was no one to guide the army nor anyone to report on the plans of the hostile alliance, the number of the enemy, when they intended to gather and give us battle, or how, when, or against whom we should be prepared and on our guard. The general ordered this Indian to be hanged from a high tree near the horses they had shot in order to make it

seem that he had been hanged as a punishment for having killed them.

Wars and battles; King Alfonso; Tamerlane and Bajazet

In their histories the old chroniclers mention many wars, battles, and victories that have taken place, such as the famous and praiseworthy triumph won by the very famous and Catholic king Alfonso over Alboacen,[256] the powerful king of Morocco. [There is also the victory] over the rich and powerful king of Granada on the Salado river near Tarifa. With eight thousand horsemen and fifteen thousand foot soldiers he conquered, routed, and harassed six hundred and sixty thousand Moors, sixty thousand of them being mounted. He killed four hundred thousand without losing more than fifteen or twenty of the Christian force.[257] Likewise deserving of laudable remembrance is the powerful, commendable, large, and awe-inspiring army which the great Tamerlane assembled to destroy the greatest and the most powerful and numerous army ever seen or collected, consisting of one million one hundred thousand men belonging to the famous and valiant king Bajazet whom the great Tamerlane conquered and carried away as a prisoner in a golden cage.[258] This remarkable and noteworthy victory took place at Mount Estelia. There were nine hundred thousand men in the force of the great king Tamerlane and one million one hundred thousand in the army of the conquered Bajazet.

Cortés in Mexico

The fortunate and religious triumph which the Catholic and famous marquis Don Hernando Cortés gained over the Mexican Culguas, powerful lords of the Mexican empire, in the year 1521, is also worthy of praise, appreciation, and recollection. With a thousand men he overcame, subdued, routed, and killed a large number of Indians in this conquest. Particularly important

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[256]This was Alfonso I, called "the Catholic," 739-757. Chapman, C. E. *History of Spain*, 54, 55.

[257]The victory of Alfonso XI at the Rio Salado just north of Tarifa, occurred in 1340. The Moorish army is usually estimated at 20,000, which indicates the gross exaggeration of the narrative. This invasion was the last serious effort to invade Spain from north Africa. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, I, 27, 28.

[258]The famous battle of Angora in Asia Minor, in which Tamerlane conquered Bajazet and took him prisoner, occurred in 1402. *Ibid.*, I, 159, 160.

was his triumph over two hundred thousand Indians at the renowned and powerful city of Mexico where he killed, conquered, and put to flight large numbers of Indians. He brought this empire and these regions into the dominion of our holy Catholic faith and under the imperial crown of his majesty.

Pizarro in Peru; battle of Lepanto

The noble and outstanding victory which Don Francisco Pizarro gained in Peru,[259] where with few Christians he conquered a large number of Indians, powerful lords, who possessed great treasures, is also memorable and deserves great praise. Likewise worthy of credit is the powerful, unequaled, remarkable, and Christian naval victory which the Catholic and invincible prince Don Juan of Austria obtained over the brave king of Constantinople in the sea of Lepanto.[260] Here he conquered, killed, and subdued a great number of pashas, kings, princes, and Moors, and took many strong galleys through his Christian vigor, boldness, and courage, all through the mighty and singular hand and will of God our Lord.

Greed emboldens the soldiers

In all these wars and triumphs which the combatants won at the risk of their lives, the benefit, profit, and honor for thus endangering themselves and the reward for their hardships and victories was plainly seen and acknowledged, or at least the ample reason for risking their lives. Such opportunities always strengthen and increase the courage, effort, and valor of men who often lack these excellent gifts.

Praise of the battle of Çaguaripa

Although it may seem audacity and a disparagement of such famous victories to recall in this commentary a small battle which the general Francisco de Ibarra fought in the mountains and remote parts of the valley of Señora, I wished, although it was less important, to honor it by placing an account of it at the

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[259] A brief, interesting account of Pizarro's conquest of Peru is given by Richman, I. B. *The Spanish Conquerors*, 154-215. A more extended account is Prescott's famous *Conquest of Peru*.

[260] John of Austria won the naval battle of Lepanto over the Turks in 1571. Chapman, *op. cit.*, 249.

end of things so deserving of praise, appreciation, and remembrance. May it be given only its proper consideration, and I beg to be pardoned for my fault in case I have erred.

Victory of seven Christians over six hundred Indians

However it does not deserve more respect than your majesty and the Christian readers may wish to grant it, without adding or detracting anything from the praise or esteem it may deserve. For without the previous inducement of material interest, encomiendas, gold, silver, slaves, or other profitable spoils; without any object other than subduing the Indians to the guidance of our holy Catholic faith, six good soldiers and their general[261] conquered, killed, and subdued six hundred barbarians. The Indians were strong and valiant and possessed arrows tipped with the poisonous plant. Those wounded by these arrows die in convulsions, and if they escape alive the wounds remain for twenty years. The Indians were fortified in their fortress and houses and in a remote and distant land where the Christians could not hope for help and could not even retire on account of the rough condition of the land. He [the general] killed many of their people and gained the victory over them by taking their stronghold and houses all at great risk to the lives of his men.

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[261]Cuevas makes a bad slip when he makes this part read "six hundred soldiers and their general." Cuevas, *Obregón*, 165.

CHAPTER XXVII

Which tells how the general and his army camped and fortified themselves at the town of Çaguaripa; and of a notable battle with the allies from Señora and the neighboring districts.

Experience the best teacher in all things

IT IS A well known and acknowledged fact that experience is the best teacher in all cases of danger and doubt. It usually awakens the ignorant from the lethargy and obstinacy into which he often falls and which ordinarily keep his mind in a stupefied and coarse state, thus preventing him from being able to distinguish between good and evil. By good advice, which is the guide of righteousness and the enemy of ignorance, emperors, kings, and monarchs of the universe are able to rule properly; princes govern; judges are prevented from erring; wars, battles, and victories on land and sea are just and right. Finally, through good counsel come peace, harmony, justice, and moderation. It is the companion and guide of truth in all cases and events everywhere.

Council of war at Çaguaripa; horses to be tied

By means of this prerequisite, important and necessary on all occasions, I continually saw people succeed, and especially the general Francisco de Ibarra. With this good judgment, he called his army to a council of war after the victory of Çaguaripa. He received the advice of every one individually, in general adopting what was best to dissuade the barbarians from their stupid plan and wish. In this assembly and war council it was decided that the army should fortify itself in the stronghold gained at Çaguaripa. Here it camped in the square formed by the four houses, which was large enough for almost the whole army. He issued a command ordering every soldier to keep two horses tied at night to prevent the enemy from shooting them, as they were stealing the horses and killing them with their arrows. Upon the soldier who failed to keep them tied he threatened the penalty of making him serve two years with his

horses and arms wherever required. Likewise he ordered that no soldier, negro, or servant should leave the camp without permission and without a mounted guard. He commanded the watches and guards to be doubled and mounted. He directed that the camp should be supplied with provisions during the daytime. He sent Rodrigo del Rio with seven picked soldiers to discover a passage to the plains and to find guides. Bartolomé de Arriola, myself, and three other soldiers were sent in another direction. We were unable to find a way, nor did we find an Indian who did not flee before us.

Advice of Fray Pablo

Sunday, the following day, Father Pablo de Acevedo, after saying mass, told the governor and the soldiers to be on their guard and to be careful where they drank, because they had conquered that town. He thought its owners were going to seek revenge for that and for the death of their relatives. They should be prepared to meet the damage which the enemy might inflict upon them. He asked them to take these precautions because he saw that the soldiers were very careless in going about unarmed and because they were playing and taking little care of their arms and horses. They did all these things because they were fortified at Çaguaripa. This warning caused the good soldiers to be cautious and prepared.

Bows and arrows discarded

When they [the natives] saw that the army was divided and diminished by the eight soldiers who had gone to search for a passage they hastened to call and assemble the confederacy of that locality. At the time this gathering consisted of only two thousand Indians well equipped with spears of brazilwood, clubs, bludgeons, and stones. They ordered that the bows and arrows should not be used because the Christians had heard of the harm caused by their poisonous arrows and had put on iron armor to protect themselves from the damage thus inflicted.

Two thousand Indians on hand; their war plans

In order that the Christians should not go away the two thousand Indians tried to detain them with promises while they sent for the rest of the allies. The entire league when assembled would comprise over fifteen thousand Indians from all

the neighboring valleys. They sent out their war orders that the battle should be without bows; that it should be fought with spears, clubs, bludgeons, and stones; and that it should be started in three places by three different squadrons. They were warned not to let a living soul be seen during the daytime in order that the Christians should not take any of them from whom they could learn their plans. They were ordered to assemble at midnight a few at a time within a stonethrow of the Christian camp. They were to come with great caution in order not to be heard. They should remain there crouching, hiding, and on their guard until the battle started. This should not take place until they thought the sentries would be sleeping.

The Christian guards asleep

With this precaution and plan they watched many nights with their weapons in readiness. They did not dare to start the battle on account of the care exercised [by the Christians], but the clash came due to the carelessness of the wicked and faithless guards, who disregarded the obligation, precaution, and care which they ought to observe in order not to endanger and hazard the lives of those in the camp. They went to sleep toward daybreak, at the time when sleep is soundest and men are most forgetful of duty. This slumber and carelessness was noticed and ascertained by the enemy, who were extremely pleased and joyful because the time and occasion to carry out their plans and to give vent to their fury had finally arrived. They arranged and organized the two thousand relief Indians, dividing them into three divisions. Each of these was to attack independently, giving the alarm and the sign of battle, throwing many spears, brazilwood darts, clubs, bludgeons, and stones. They were commanded to attack and to seize the Christians, binding and carrying them away to be roasted and eaten during the feasts and demonstrations which they had planned in order to celebrate the expected victory.

Battle at Çaguaripa; the Indians are heard

Thus this battle came about on account of the wicked and careless guards. It was accompanied by strange and terrible fury, by the heaving and throwing of clubs, stones, and spears, and ferocious, loud, and frightful shouts. They broke down, de-

stroyed, and plundered all they could find and carry away. Their terrible and unexpected rage resembled the greatest depth and confusion of the inferno. The enemy was heard shortly before the fighting began by Father Pablo de Acevedo, who at that hour had risen to recite matins, and by Cristóbal Osorio, a good soldier who was on the alert and ready to take the morning guard which was his duty. Between the two of them they quickly gave the alarm, crying: "Come on, valiant soldiers, to arms, to arms, the enemy is coming!"

The general encourages his men

This awakened the general, who encouraged his soldiers bravely and with determination, saying: "Forward, valiant soldiers. Santiago![262] After them! Let us defend ourselves valiantly and die bravely, fighting for our holy Catholic faith and for God our Lord, who will protect and aid us and will grant us the victory, shielding and protecting us with the defense and support of His worshipful and almighty holy name!"

By divine will the horses aid in the battle

The general organized his army in a short time and with it faced the enemy, coming forth to defend his army and the lives of all against the savage and infernal fury of the enraged and daring barbarians. With their rush and noise and the reports of the harquebuses, most of the horses of the camp were frightened. They were tied to heavy timbers and small shacks made of reed matting. When the tumult occurred they got loose and ran about, dragging the heavy logs and shacks. Owing to fear of the uproar they became so frightened that they resembled loose demons running over, knocking down, and routing the enemy. And as the night was dark, dreadful, and warlike, the horses dashed about, fighting and clashing into one another. By the clamor which they made with the logs and shacks on clashing, they stirred up fear and the battle seemed as fiendish, furious, and disorderly as the depths of hell.

Some soldiers fear death and hide

The general and his men were in a difficult situation and in

[262] "Santiago" was the battle cry of the Spaniards.

great danger because the enemy were very numerous, and almost half of the soldiers who had to face and fight the enemy concealed themselves since they feared death and were afraid to engage in the battle. The attack of the enemy was so sudden and fierce that in a short time they had scaled, gained, and taken the high land near the fortress and had surrounded the army on every side, feeling sure of the victory and of the surrender of the Christians. The natives thought that by this impetus, outcry, and the fear of death the Christians would not dare to resist or await the attack but would have to flee. The enemy attacked a soldier named León, who had been stationed outside the camp. He defended himself with his sword until he re-entered the camp like a good soldier. The damage and destruction occasioned by the horses and the fact that the enemy did not fight with bows and arrows gave the Christians the opportunity to escape alive and to win the victory. This was especially due to the favor, aid, and will of God our Lord, Who was pleased to protect and spare us from this danger. He blinded their rustic and barbarous minds so that they would doubt the effectiveness of their poisonous arrows on account of the protection and resistance of the armor. He also made them forget to put the branches or sap of the poisonous tree in the drinking water. This would have been sufficient to destroy, kill, and annihilate their enemies and even large armies and expeditions.

The enemy forced to withdraw

After the infuriated enemy had been routed by mounted men, the harquebusiers, and the thundering and damage caused by the loose horses, the general reorganized and fortified his army. Discipline and order were effected and he directed the field guns to be placed at the entrance and in the dangerous places of the houselike fortress.

Six horses wounded

In this battle my harquebus burst and I fought with lance and shield. In the onslaught of the battle the enemy wounded six horses. They died in a short time from small wounds, being in convulsions until they burst. One of them died from a small wound in its ear because it had been shot with a poison-tipped arrow.

Christians besieged; the culverins; children of the sun

They surrounded us at three o'clock at night and the battle continued until the following noon. The general attacked those who were encircling the army with half of the soldiers. He routed and forced them to seek shelter on a hill near the camp facing the fortress. Here they assembled and showed resistance. He sent them a fusilade of large balls with the culverins. This was so effective that they soon ceased dancing and lost their courage and ardor. They were startled and frightened to see some without heads, others without arms and legs, and to see that the flying limbs of the dead and wounded injured those nearby. They were also frightened to see the nimbleness and fury of the horses. For these reasons they said we were children of the sun and that we carried lightning-bolts and clothes from heaven, with which we defended and protected ourselves against their poisonous arrows. The latter caused them to be feared by other people.

The general fortified himself and took precautions against the damage which might be inflicted on him in the future. He closed the apertures in the fortress, doubled and bettered the watches, and commanded that guard duty should be done by mounted men, the horses wearing poitrels with sleigh-bells.

Threats of the Indians

The Indians made many threats, showing the ropes with which they were going to tie us and the kettles in which they were going to roast us. They asked us to give up the bolts of fire with which we fought, saying that they would fight us man for man. They let us know that it was our advantage that disheartened them, and on this account they departed sorrowfully, without hope of gaining a victory over the Christians. Their league was broken up and they went back to their villages over different roads in groups of one hundred.

Second native council of war

Later they reassembled in a council of war in which they decided to give battle and kill the Christians. This was to be during the daytime in the rough and dangerous passages and places where we would be unable to make use of the horses.

This league and assembly was called by means of messengers and numerous high columns of smoke.

News of this battle carried three hundred leagues

This battle was heard of three hundred leagues from where it took place. It was known at Cinaro within two days, and as I understand and suspect, through the industry of the devil or through the smoke signals. The latter I consider the more likely because the natives go about for hours communicating with one another and sending out warnings from town to town and from province to province. Thus by these signals and warnings the news, as I have learned, reached the province of Cinaro, three hundred leagues distant from Çaguaripa in two days.[263]

This news inspired and encouraged the natives of that province to kill the settlers and the soldiers who were living there, because they feared that they [the Christians] might be reinforced; the punishment which might be sent from there; and they wanted to free those natives from paying tribute to and serving the Christians. The natives of Cinaro[264] did not dare to attack, for they were doubtful of victory on account of the precaution, order, and discipline in which the *maeso de campo* maintained his camp.

Return of del Rio; the general leaves Çaguaripa

At this time Rodrigo del Rio came back with the soldiers he had taken. Their return caused great contentment as it was believed that they had been killed by the Indians before giving battle. When the general saw that the hatred and desire of the enemy to harm us was increasing, he decided to appease them by leaving the place and by avoiding the occasions where his army could be harmed. He determined on this because their greed for what they saw in the camp, consisting of the attire of the Christians, and the fact that we held their town and fortress, made them think of killing us. He departed chiefly in order to continue his expedition to the plains. Accordingly he put this into practise, marching very cautiously with scouts in advance, going through mountain ridges of strange height, over gorges

[263] If Çaguaripa was three hundred leagues from Cinaro it must have been far in the interior.

[264] At San Juan de Sinaloa.

and rocky places where some worn-out horses fell down precipices and were left behind. With this labor and care he brought his army to better lands which were more easily traversed than those already seen.[265]

After marching two days, we discovered a town of two hundred terraced houses. When we were heard by the inhabitants they abandoned it and took to flight, uttering wild cries. The general sent Father Pablo and the interpreter to reduce them to peace. They reassured the natives and gradually they returned peacefully. However they were frightened and cautious, suspecting that we wanted to harm them. That night twelve of us provided with horses were on guard, the horses wearing poitrels with sleigh-bells. At midnight as the natives heard the jingling of the bells they were frightened and terrified. They asked us to sleep and to stop making a noise, since we were disturbing their women and children. They could not rest or sleep as the continuous jangling made them afraid. The general replied that they never slept nor did they know what it meant to sleep. He added that at night they retired on account of the darkness prevailing then, and that the noise was to punish and kill those who might wish to harm them.

Indians reappear; dare not attack; confines of Señora

I was on the first guard that night. The other sentries and I heard a great tumult of people in the town. It was suspected that it was the alliance and league which was coming to overtake us and to give us battle as they had planned. But they did not dare to attack on account of the precaution and watch exercised by the mounted men. This broke up their plan. The confederation came to an end in this town and the natives lost the opportunity and hope of enjoying the spoils by a victory over us. They had had quarrels and differences in regard to who should have the articles which they were going to take from us. Here they came to the limits of the lands of their friends.

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[265]Ibarra now either continued northward into Arizona or turned east around the bend of the Bavispe river into Chihuahua. No mention of a change in direction is made, but it seems probable that the latter supposition is correct.

Two languages in four hundred leagues

We went into the lands of the Querechos,[266] who are neighbors of the people in the plains of the cattle, their enemies. Their habitat extends two journeys from the plains, from their friends and districts of Señora, Cumupa, Guaraspi, and the other towns in warm and temperate climates. There are two peoples in the regions extending from Petlatlán to the last inhabited region of the mountain range and the slopes toward the South Sea. This comprises over three hundred leagues of *Caitas*[267] and *Pimahitos*,[268] which is the same as to say Mexicans and Otomites. They are found in many places all mixed together and intermarried among themselves. These two words, *Pimahaito* and *Caita*, signify *no hay*.

Vaca mistaken

Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca says in his history that the *Pimaito* alone extend over four hundred leagues. In this he was mistaken, for even in the regions near them are other people using different languages, such as those of the coast, at *Uparobapuzar*. There are also those in the heart of the mountain range who employ different languages. He was wrong in regard to the number of leagues because he had traversed the territory on foot, making many turns. He was also in error concerning the languages because he did not go down to the coast nor did he travel through the mountains as we did. We passed through them on both sides, from the northern and southern slopes and through the center. Álvar Núñez was mistaken in affirming that this was the best and most fertile of all the lands in the Indies. The truth is just the opposite because although there is an abundance of provisions, very little cotton is found. The land is very rough, rocky, covered with numerous crags, mountains, and rough ridges, extremely warm, and full of the poisonous tree. Its people are thievish, treacherous, and go

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[266]The plains Apache.

[267]"The name Sinaloa is synonymous in application with Cahita, a group of tribes including the present Yaqui and Mayo." Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers*, 346 note 3. This word *Cahita* is identical with the *Caita* of Obregón.

[268]These *Pimahitos*, spelled variously, were the southern Pimas, or Nebomes. Mecham, following Bandelier, in his *Ibarra*, 167.

about naked for the most part until we come to the slopes of the sierra in temperate lands, where the houses with terraces begin to be found.

The crude people in reed houses

The people living in reed houses have no organization, and wear hardly any clothing. They are found as far as Florida, including Cumupa, Guaraspi, Hoera, and other neighboring towns.

Reptiles eaten; native preachers; degenerate Indians

All these nations eat all sorts of wild reptiles. They are aggressive warriors. They have preachers and exhorters of their idolatry and wars. They perform their duty with so much zeal, fervor, and shouting that it often happens that they collapse, exhausted by the enthusiasm which they show and by the cries they utter. This office is entrusted to the most important captains and chieftains. Throughout the greatest part of these regions are found nefarious Indians who practise sodomy. They wear women's clothes.

From this place the general carried away two Indian slaves who were from the plains. They guided the army to the place where we were told of numerous people, terraced houses, and of the cattle. They conducted the army through cold lands of greater roughness than the others already traversed.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Describing how the army entered and marched through better lands than those in the valleys previously visited.

God helps the needy; the Word of God protects those lost in enemy lands

IN TIMES of danger, hardship, and shipwreck there is nothing of such benefit and profit as to implore the almighty hand and mercy of God our Lord for His aid, succor, and protection. In cases of great need He gives support and relief because of His infinite and great providence, with the celestial relief of His holy and supreme mercy, by means of which and through the intercession of His holy Mother He grants the forgiveness of sins and alleviates toil, need, and tribulation. I am sure that by this holy and merciful means the mighty power of God our Lord protected and liberated the general Francisco de Ibarra and his army from terrible trials and perils. He shielded and delivered them from the fearful mouth of the hungry enemy and from their fierce anger.[269] Likewise He saved them from being captured and made slaves by that coarse and barbarous people, ignorant of the bright light of justice and mercy. This, it is true, amplifies, aids, and preserves everything in any part of the world if only His most ample holy name and doctrine is carried as a shield and protection into the places and remote regions where the splendor of His most precious and holy doctrine is not found among the ignorant people. They have lacked and are still deprived of His holy presence.

Ingratitude of the soldiers

He led them out of the mountains, cliffs, and the very deep and imposing ravines, and away from lands where one might rightly say that the sun was like fire that burned rather than light which illuminated. We were led out of a place where the

[269]The reference is to the cannibals.

natives did not give us a moment's rest, nor let us eat or sleep safely for an hour. It was impossible to travel through level land without being in constant fear of coming to crags and fearful mountains. We were freed from the place where there had been quarrels, differences, and fights over the spoils that the natives hoped to obtain by a victory over us, and where we hourly expected to fall a prey to the toxin of the poisonous tree. If they had put it into our food or into the water which we drank not a man would have escaped. It would be just then that since God our Lord aided, protected, and saved us from such danger, hardship, hunger, and fatigue, we should all acknowledge these favors and show Him gratitude and reverence, for each one of us is indebted to Him for these and previous acts of kindness. But weakness, forgetfulness, and ungratefulness are so prevalent in man that as soon as he is out of danger and free from want he forgets the great favors granted him by his God, Creator, and Savior. I beg and implore Him that He may be pleased to forgive our ingratitude, neglect, and ignorance, as we are obliged to Him for these and other incomparable gifts, both before and after the creation of the world.

Reports of bears

When the army had marched two days from the last town in the provinces and regions of the valleys and districts of Señora, home of the *Caitas* and *Pimaitos*,[270] it ascended the last ridges of the mountain range in the direction of the northern border. From its summit we could see large, splendid, and fertile valleys covered and enriched with very beautiful meadows, prairies, springs, rivers, and streams, with excellent, clear, and delightful waters. The climate and nature of these temperate lands are the best I have ever seen. This fertile and attractive land is adorned and endowed with fine mountain ranges, hills, and tablelands, where, as we were informed, bears which ate the fowls and the ears of corn from the houses of the natives live and flourish. Here are large madrone trees, many very tall nut-bearing walnut trees, Castile prune trees, and wild grapes. We began to discover abandoned houses of two and three stories.

[270]See notes 267 and 268 above.

All were glad to see the fertility and beauty of that good land and still more pleased to have left the rough enemy territory with its infernal heat. The army went on through plains and valleys inhabited by many deer, stags, hares, rabbits, and all sorts of game and birds.

The first Indian of the plains; he resists

After enjoying and celebrating with great contentment our arrival in better lands and among pacific people, we met the first Indian of the plains. He was a comely young man, handsome and well attired. When he saw such unusual people, so unlike his own kind, he fled with great determination and swiftness. Two soldiers went after him. He resisted them, making use of his arrows with much skill, courage, and bravery. He fought until his strength and arrows gave out. He was seized after much effort and at great risk by the two soldiers who, although they were on horseback and on the run, were more fatigued and paler than the Indian. He was taken to the governor. He was frightened, dejected, and grieved to find himself a captive in the hands of people who, he imagined, would deprive him of his liberty and life. He seemed to be trembling with terror at the sight of people so strange and different from his own kin. The governor reassured him, treated him kindly, and by friendly and gentle words dispelled the dread of the harm which he imagined would come to him. He clothed and gave him adornments of beads and gifts which he esteemed very much. In this manner his sadness, fear, and captivity were changed to joy, profit, and honor among his people, because the general sent this first Indian to call the others, promising to give them presents and to treat them very kindly.

Flight of the guide; no interpreter; near New Mexico

All this was done by signs because at this place the guide through whom we might have been able to make the natives understand the questions put to them and to interpret their answer ran away, and we had none. Consequently from this point on we lacked an interpreter who could understand the natives of the plains and of the region toward the north. This was the greatest misfortune that befell us in the expedition to these plains. On account of this mishap, we did not discover

nor learn of the secrets, towns, and provinces of this extensive and fertile land. Thus we were unable to reach New Mexico. According to the second explorers who went with Antonio de Espejo, [271] we came within two days' march of the last inhabited part of this region.

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[271] An account of the Espejo expedition is given in chapters VIII to X of book II of this volume.

CHAPTER XXIX

Which shows how the governor was received by the Querechos, people who follow the cattle; how the Christians are respected and worshipped in this land as the children of the sun; and the miracles that were performed by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions.

Pre-eminence of Spain over other nations

OF ALL THE people that have been discovered, seen, studied, and known up to the present time, none have been able to equal or rival the Spanish. This has been tested and verified both by the master, experience, and by the greatness of their famous and heroic deeds which are related and attested by ancient and modern historians. The histories give just and true praise of how they have surpassed all others in firmly and constantly supporting the practise and worship of our holy Catholic faith. [They have upheld it] with resolute and faithful uprightness, risking their property, lives, women, and children. They conquered and destroyed fortresses, walls, and castles; they leveled cities, towns, and villages of those who were enemies of our holy Catholic faith. They overcame and routed numerous armies, leagues, alliances, and combinations of diverse, far-off strange nations, composed of large numbers of people that resisted or molested and persecuted them.

God permits miracles in heathen lands

In the same manner they have been the conquerors and destroyers of the perfidious competitors and enemies of our holy Catholic faith, defending and supporting it to preserve the purity of the Holy Scriptures, dogma, and theology. They have defeated and subdued many foreign, remote, and distinct nations, protected and brought them into the community and benefits of our inestimable Catholic faith. [The Spaniards] are born with this virtuous inclination, eagerness, determination, and great spirit to extend and augment this brotherhood, which indeed should be united without division of kingdom, authority, law, usage, or precept. People from that nation have passed through lands inhabited by heathen barbarians, ignorant of our

God, Creator and Savior, and through His unlimited, pious, and merciful will have performed miracles.[272] This was granted that this people which was blind and unconscious of God and of His evangelical precepts, would be inclined to become Christians. That is what happened in these distant and strange lands, inhabited by heathen people unaware of the practise and teachings of the Gospel.

Revive the dead and heal the sick

Those who performed miracles in these lands were Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Andrés Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, and Estevanico, a negro, native of Azamor. These men were stranded with the expedition to Florida made by Pánfilo de Narváez,[273] and then lost their way while going in search of Christian lands. They crossed two thousand leagues of unknown and remote regions inhabited by divers rustic and dissimilar nations, suffered untold hardships, and wandered far in excess of their natural habits. While roaming in these places, they performed remarkable wonders outside the limits of natural laws, all by miraculous permission and authority. They revived the dead, cured and healed the sick.[274] This is all attested by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca "and is stated in his book entitled *Naufragios de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca.*"[275] All this I affirm and testify to be true, because the natives have assured us that all the miracles contained in his history are true as are the others he mentions.

On account of these deeds and happenings we were well treated at the places where we came and by the people whom we met. They followed us, worshipping and serving us in every way as if we were children of the sun, as they affirmed we were.

Reception of the general

One day later there came to the camp three hundred Querechos with their women and children. They had been called and brought there by the Indian whom the general had

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[272]Cabeza de Vaca and his companions.

[273]Narváez's expedition to Florida set out from Cuba in 1528. For a detailed account of its history, see Lowery, *op. cit.*, 172-212.

[274]On the credibility of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, see *ibid.*, appendix I, 456, 457.

[275]The part in quotation marks is omitted by Cuevas.

provided with clothes. The men are lively, of noble disposition, friendly, brave, and able-bodied; the women and children are attractive. They came singing and dancing around the camp and showed great joy and merriment at seeing us. They made strange faces toward the sky which are ceremonies they employ in their worship of the sun.

Vaca prayed for rain; captives recovered

They welcomed us to their lands, saying that others of our kind and appearance had passed through their lands years before, and that they had caused the enemy to return the captives whom they had taken from them. These men had ordered the clouds to rain on their lands; had healed the sick and resurrected the dead. The natives affirmed and believed that we were children of the sun, which they obeyed, feared, respected, and worshipped as their god. They thought that we had descended from heaven. They insisted and importuned us to touch and bless them, which was the ceremony employed by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. God our Lord through His infinite mercy permitted these occurrences, and granted so many unusual favors and cases beyond the natural order of events in order to free them from the wanderings and hardships which they suffered. These and other miracles were retold by them without erring or differing from what is stated in the history mentioned.[276]

News of Cíbola and the cattle

The general received the Indians with much kindness, giving liberally gifts and iron trifles which they esteemed very highly. He learned from these people the things that were found in those provinces and what they knew of them. They replied, giving the information by means of signs, that Cíbola was three days' march from there and the cattle four journeys toward the north. We believe it to be certain that the cattle were so near because here we found hides of the cattle that had died and also bones and manure. The natives stated that

[276]The above statements must be considered with extreme caution. Ibarra's party had lost its interpreter (see next paragraph), and Obregón ascribes to the Indians this summary of what he knew Vaca's narrative to contain.

during part of the summer they lived on the slopes and sheltered places, fleeing from the cold weather which afflicts them in the open country.

Enemies of the plains Indians

These people are enemies of the Querechos who live among the cattle. They have droves of dogs. They are well built, lively and warlike. They eat all sorts of wild reptiles; some corn, acorns, and walnuts, Castile prunes, and all kinds of game. They are more friendly, loyal, and valiant than those we had met before. They possess hides from the cattle; they do not have salt. We could not see what sort of habitations or houses they had because the army passed at a distance from their town. They are a rustic people. They followed the army several days, sleeping and eating among the Christians. They could not see enough of us it seemed. The general dismissed them and they went away sadly and unwillingly.

CHAPTER XXX

Which describes the arrival of the army at the city of Paquimé with its remarkable abandoned buildings; and the things which were seen and learned in these provinces.

King Philip preserved and enlarged his domains

IT IS AN evident, obvious, tested, and true fact, verified by the sacred writings, as well as by the ancient chronicles of reliable historians, that the principal emperors and monarchs who have ruled in the universe enhanced and multiplied the greatness of their heroic and famous deeds by discovering, conquering, and mastering powerful armies and noted empires, kingdoms, and dominions in various parts and places. The extent of their greatness and the fame of this prosperity and opulence made it necessary for them to seek information from explorers, generals, and captains. They molded and adapted their wishes to these deeds, records, and accounts, thus increasing and broadening the power and magnificence of their famous domains and states.

This fact and many more have been noticed, seen, and experienced in the heroic, religious, and great deeds of our mighty and celebrated defender of our holy Catholic faith, the very just king Don Philip, our master.[277] For in such a worthy and religious manner, in concert and justice, he has preserved, broadened, and increased his kingdoms, dominions, and vassals. Through the merits of his very Christianlike deeds, the powerful hand and will of God our Lord permits the multiplication of his kingdoms and the increase of his subjects, riches, territories, and states. Thus this king and lord by well arranged and religious plans, with such harmony and principle, has made and is still making the service of God our Lord and the salvation of his vassals an accomplished fact.

Desire of author to serve king; against greed

It is just that we should serve, obey, and help him loyally

[277] Philip II of Spain, who ruled from 1556-1598.

with our children and our property, eagerly and carefully. I, your most insignificant and humble servant, although I do not possess the means, never lacked nor shall I ever lack the desire to perform truthful accomplishments and services. And because I do not have the means for these undertakings I decided to obey and serve your majesty by offering boldly of my little strength, person, and life and with these relations and commentaries. I do this in order that by your renowned exploits, your mighty and powerful name and reputation, which is feared and obeyed in most parts of the entire world, these accounts may serve as an example of good deeds. They may serve as a lesson and a check on uncontrolled and abominable greed, because of which men often forget the path of virtue. They may be used as a guide and chart of the provinces, towns, and places found in them and one may learn in what localities and places gold and silver ores are found, and which of the provinces and towns are suitable for occupation. One may likewise learn the character, quality, and condition of the natives, distinguish the peaceful from those who are not, and in what locality and region they cause harm by means of the sap and the branches of the poisonous tree. One may also learn the good and bad roads that the best may be chosen and the difficult and dangerous ones avoided, and thus prevent the loss of life and the hardship and suffering which befell many explorers and old settlers who lacked warning, experience, and information. For these reasons I was bold enough to offer this account to your majesty.

Buildings of Paquimé

In the same manner I decided to render this service, this admonition, memorial, and notification of what is of importance and interest to your majesty, your kingdoms, dominions, and *real hacienda,* in order to conquer and settle the lands, provinces, and towns in the northern region beyond New Mexico. I am stating the manifest and truthful reason in this commentary, account, and relation of how and why this should be carried out. I will begin with what I saw, read, and have been informed of. I will start with the great expectations offered formerly and at the present time by this large city, which contains buildings that seemed to have been constructed by the ancient Romans. It

is marvelous to look upon. Here the general and his army had taken quarters.[278]

Patios; pillars; walls

This city is located in some fertile and beautiful valleys surrounded by splendid and rich mountains and small mountain ridges. It is situated on the shores of the river, below Paquimé. This is the most useful and beneficial of all the rivers we found in those provinces. Its shores are covered with beautiful and tall poplars, willows, and savins.[279] It can readily and at little cost be utilized for irrigating the fertile shores. There are many houses of great size, strength, and height. They are of six and seven stories, with towers and walls like fortresses for protection and defense against the enemies who undoubtedly used to make war on its inhabitants. The houses contain large and magnificent patios paved with enormous and beautiful stones resembling jasper. There were knife-shaped stones which supported the wonderful and big pillars of heavy timbers brought from far away. The walls of the houses were whitewashed and painted in many colors and shades with pictures of the building. The structure had a kind of adobe walls. However it was mixed and interspersed with stone and wood, this combination being stronger and more durable than boards.

Canals; estufas; copper plates

There were great and wide canals which they used to carry

[278]The location of Paquimé is involved in some uncertainty. Ibarra may have gone east from Çaguaripa and visited the *casas grandes* situated along the Casas Grandes river, which empties into Lake Guzmán just below the New Mexico border. The hypothesis has also been advanced that he might have continued northward and reached some of the notable ruins scattered along the Gila river in Arizona. But as Mecham notes, the Indians did not talk about Coronado, which we might have expected if Paquimé was in the Gila country. Moreover Dr. Byron Cummings of the University of Arizona informs us that no underground kivas have ever been found in the pueblos south of the Gila in Arizona. No thorough investigation has yet been made of the ruins in Chihuahua in this respect. Cf. Mecham, *Ibarra*, 173; for the Chihuahua ruins, see Bancroft, *Native Races*, IV, 604-614; for Arizona antiquities, see *ibid.*, IV, ch. XI.

[279]Poplars and willows would be found in either the Gila valley or in Chihuahua, and savins and junipers possibly. There are certain types of junipers that grow along the Gila at an elevation of about four thousand feet. These facts thus help little in locating the point reached by Ibarra. For this information we are indebted to Dean J. J. Thornber of the University of Arizona.

water from the river to their houses. They have spacious and broad estufas under their houses and buildings to protect themselves from the cold weather which is greatly felt there, as it snows a large part of the year. The north winds, which sweep into the plain from the mountains where it snows more than usual, are extremely cold. Metal slag which the natives had undoubtedly exploited, and stones to grind it, were found. It was believed that it was copper metal because we found two copper plates among the savage Indians, worked from molds as if they had been cast and made by some skilful and dexterous Spanish artisan. One may also infer that the slag is of silver because there are quantities of silver ore in the neighboring mountains there. I found many veins in the places which I have already mentioned in other chapters.

Five small bags of silver

This suspicion was strengthened because in these mountains the natives presented Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca with five small bags of silver.[280] We found paved roads here. This large cluster and congregation of houses is not in one place but scattered over a distance of eight leagues down the river, extending northward from the first tableland in the large mountain range. Rodrigo del Rio and I visited and explored this ridge by order of the governor. Houses continued to be found down the river and we did not lose sight of them. This seemed to be the largest and most ancient settlement in those lands. We found traces of the cattle. Most of these houses were in ruins, worn away by the rains and torn down. It seemed that they had been abandoned and given up by their owners many years past.

Savages near Paquimé; news of settlements

However close by lived wild, coarse, and roaming people, who, rather than live in such large houses, preferred to dwell in straw shacks like wild animals, exposed to the sun, wind, and cold. They are hunters; they eat all sorts of game, wild reptiles, and acorns. The men go about naked; the women wear short skirts of tanned deerskins or cowhide. We asked them by signs where the former owners of the houses and lands of that

[280] See this volume, ch. III.

town had gone. They replied by signs that they were settled and living six days down the river toward the north, and that they had been forced to move away on account of the war waged on them by their enemies who came from the other side of the mountains. They added that about four days to the west [north?] lived many other people who occupied houses of great height, who wore clothes, and who possessed large amounts of cotton clothing, corn, beans, calabashes, fowls, and native cattle.

Distance from Paquimé to first settlement of Señora

The settlements of the Señora valley are forty leagues from here and could be subdued and controlled by those who might settle on this Paquimé river. Such a settlement could be supplied with goods from the South Sea, provided a town was established in the Señora valley, as the sea is forty leagues from there and the Paquimé river is ninety leagues from the sea. The harbor for this purpose is located on the Yaquimi river at the place where it flows into the sea.

Depth of Yaquimi harbor

The bay has been explored and sounded by two sailors by order of the general. They affirmed that the entrance has a depth of two fathoms. Paquimé is on one side of Cíbola on the slopes of the mountains stretching northward from the valleys of Señora. It is five hundred leagues from the city of Mexico over the Santa Bárbola road. By way of Culiacán and the valleys of Señora it is over six hundred leagues, but the road is better and safer than the Santa Bárbola route. However one should have supplies and provisions enough to last until the province of San Felipe of New Mexico is reached.

CHAPTER XXXI

Concerning the return of the general Francisco de Ibarra and his army; the causes which moved him to discontinue the explorations in the provinces of New Mexico which he had undertaken; the address he made to the soldiers, urging them to go on with the expedition; and the various opinions expressed in this connection.

The soldiers lose heart; determine to return

ALTHOUGH the general and his army had endured untold hardship, fatigue, and the risk of losing their lives, they kept up their courage with the good hope which had ever sustained them of discovering large towns in accordance with the information they had received. This condition lasted until they came to this abandoned town of Paquimé, where all their good expectations were shattered when they saw that it was not inhabited as they had imagined and hoped. Consequently they regretted having come and secretly talked of insisting upon the return of the general and his army. On account of this determination they [the soldiers] went about depressed and downcast. They considered and schemed how and where they could escape without going over the route by which they had come, in order to avoid endangering their lives, for they feared the poisonous plant and the wars of the people in the Señora valley.

The general informed

The general learned of the discontent, plans, and restlessness of the soldiers and also that about a dozen men in the camp had discussed the plot and reached an agreement. From them he learned of the harm which those who were disappointed with the expedition had whispered about and desired to carry out. As a prudent man he played the part of the loyal thief in such a way that he felt the pulse of their intentions one by one. He discovered that they were all of the same opinion. This was due to the fact that the iron for horseshoes and the ammunition, things most necessary for waging war in new lands, had given out, as had the clothing, footgear, and horses. Such reinforce-

ments were doubtful, three hundred leagues distant, and provisions scanty along the way. Moreover the soldiers had everything so arranged and prepared for escaping that neither mountains nor enemies, as found in the land traversed, could prevent it. However they would not even have dared to dream of it had they known that the people were so numerous and warlike.

The will of God; the general near New Mexico

Beside these obstacles and events, God our Lord did not wish that the settlements of New Mexico should be discovered. He desired that the people of Cinaro and Chiametla and the other towns should first be settled and brought to the light of the faith as they were less numerous and poorer than those of the plains. Furthermore He was not pleased that we should enjoy the glory of this undertaking and discovery, but that it should be made known by those who finally explored it, for it is evident that we came within two days march of the first inhabitated area.[281] If He had been pleased, He could easily have granted that we should be the discoverers of these greatly desired and eagerly sought provinces which have caused so much suffering for many years, and which were so near to the places that we had reached. Thus the will of God and the misfortune of the general and his soldiers are known.

Council of war; mass to the Holy Spirit

Owing to these incidents, necessity, and the restlessness and change of heart of the soldiers, he [the general] decided to call a council of war in order to urge the continuation of the expedition by kindly means. He ordered the soldiers to attend a mass offered to the Holy Spirit. He asked them to implore It with much fervor to inspire their hearts and illuminate their minds and wills in the manner that would be most suitable, beneficial, and necessary to Its holy service and interest for the conversion of those natives.

Reply of the army; assembly of the army

The cowardly soldiers listened to those words very willingly. They had been waiting for them and things were taking place

[281]This statement was written in 1584, after the return of Espejo's party from New Mexico, but is not necessarily accurate.

in accordance with their wishes and desires. All replied to the general that they would obey him in everything he commanded. They did so. When the mass was over all assembled in the tent of the general, who, in order to oblige and urge them to carry on the purpose of their trip, the discovery and the conversion of the natives to the use and practise of our holy Catholic faith, gave them the following speech and argument:

Address to the soldiers

"My valiant, brave Christians and friends: The use of this inestimable and triumphal title is of great importance, merit, and obligation. Besides having an advantage over and being preferred to all other nations of the universe we should by means of our capability, harmony, and virtuous deeds, instruct others in the goodness and exercise of our holy Catholic faith. We should be, through the word and celestial treasure of the power of God our Lord, Who embodies, amplifies, and preserves everything in all parts of the world with His incomparable name, the occasion and means of redeeming and freeing the natives from utter darkness and the tyranny of the devil. It seems that through His power and divine will we have been chosen to preach the Gospel in order that the kingdom of heaven might be extended. This has brought immortal fame to those who in their time through industry and care helped to extend the Christian religion. We have been honored by being appointed the ministers and participants of such divine means of very great merit. Even though laziness, fear of privation, and the activity of the devil may obstruct that serene virtue, God's love will protect and give us peace, quietude, rest, and victory. He will grant us the fulfillment of the purpose for which we came, which is to overcome and amend the weakness and blindness of the ignorance in which this barbarous nation lives. By virtue of our nature, it is our duty and obligation to protect, relieve, and advise them, and to serve our mighty Catholic king and natural lord by increasing the number of his vassals.

"Beside these rightful and worthy obligations, it is fitting that we should maintain the glory, honor, good deeds, and traditions of our forefathers. We must uphold them or be considered inferior and less valorous than they. All this will be

lost, since the failure to continue our expedition and achieve the enterprise for which we came would be due to weakness or ignominious flight. If we fail to attain our aim through death, we shall at least have merited the immortal enjoyment of glory and no less the right to real fame. As it is our goal to seek to increase the Christian community and to leave a famous and memorable record at the end of our lives as our forefathers did, who would disregard and flee from the glorious and fine opportunity when he holds it in his hands? What honor, wealth, and merit can be gained without risk, hardship, and combat? What women, children, comforts, and estates are delaying, hindering, or calling us when we can make up the time we are losing by such a noble, useful, and profitable enterprise? What disappointment shall we not feel when others win what you want to lose? I trust in the bravery, courage, and honor of your persons that you will act as valiant Christians whom it is not right to urge or menace with more than this Christian, just, and virtuous exhortation. I rely on your personal honor to carry out the good purpose which I desire, expect, and ask of such good soldiers."

Reply of the soldiers; the loyal ones

They replied, thanking him for the good advice he had given them, saying that each one would state his opinion individually as he had prescribed and commanded. This resolution gave contentment and joy to the cowardly and discouraged soldiers and disappointment and grief to the brave for losing such a good and profitable opportunity. The latter feared the opinion and votes of the lazy and evil-minded, cowards in the honorable exercise of war. In this assembly there were many foolish opinions, suggestions, and plans. Some of these sought to thwart the good purpose of the general and the soldiers who agreed with him and were striving for the fine ideal of serving God our Lord and the imperial crown of your majesty. Those who were prompt to imitate, follow, and obey the general were: Father Pablo de Acevedo; the *alferez* Pedro de Unzueta; Captain Salvador Ponce; Rodrigo del Rio; Don Hernando de Tovar; Pedro de Montoya, *alferez* of the *maeso de campo* who now is captain in Cinaro; the *contador* Bartolomé de Arriola; Fran-

cisco de Carvajal; Hernando de Buelna; Cristóbal Osorio; Pedro de Torres; the secretary Lerma; Pedro Ortuño and Pedro de Zuñiga. They all imitated and followed the general in everything and gave their good and Christian pledges to seek the service of God our Lord and the imperial crown of your majesty.

A second suggestion; a third; decision to return

In particular Rodrigo del Rio, Don Hernando de Tovar, Cristóbal Osorio, and myself offered to go for reinforcements of soldiers, horses, ammunition, and what else was needed to refit the army. In the meantime the army should remain fortified in one of the strong houses on the Paquimé river where they would be safe from the harm that the enemy might cause them. From there they could go to the first settled parts of the valleys of Señora, thirty leagues from Paquimé, to supply the army with provisions. We made this offer on the condition that the soldiers who would accompany us should take an oath to come back again. In the same manner the good soldiers proposed that after the army had rested for a few days, it should continue to march down the river the six days as far as the towns of which the inhabitants of this river had given information. The other soldiers suggested that inasmuch as the army lacked everything necessary for going forward it was much more fitting that it should return and not proceed any farther. [They suggested] that the general and the army should go to settle a town on the Yaquimi river and to preserve, maintain, and divide up the province of Cinaro, forty leagues from Yaquimi toward the border where the sun rises. As the latter suggestion was offered by a majority of the men, the general decided to return to Yaquimi, much against his will, compelled by the fear that the soldiers would desert him.

On account of these incidents and events we failed to carry out the undertaking and to reap the benefits and honor of the discovery of New Mexico, its districts, surroundings, and towns which have actually been gained by the new discoverers with less labor than we endured. We may rightfully affirm that we saw the walls of its enclosures and towns, and had we gone ahead it would have been discovered, subdued, controlled, and

placed under the royal crown of your majesty. You retained this undertaking and favored the viceroy Don Lorenzo Xuárez de Mendoza, late Count of Coruña, with the honor of planting the Holy Gospel there.[282] None of his predecessors, all of whom had endeavored to be the instrument of subjecting it to our holy Catholic faith and to the royal crown of your majesty, had been able to find or settle it. This discovery gave rise to litigations and differences with the marquis Don Hernando Cortés.[283]

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[282]Don Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza, Count of Coruña, ruled from October, 1580, to June, 1582. Priestley, *op. cit.*, 88, 89. It was during his administration that the pueblo region of New Mexico was rediscovered by the Rodríguez expedition of 1581.

[283]The reference is to the first rumors of rich towns in the north brought back by Cabeza de Vaca and Fray Marcos de Niza, when both Cortés and the viceroy wanted to conquer New Mexico.

CHAPTER XXXII

Regarding the reports of discoveries in the great land of Cíbola, Quivira, New Mexico, the coasts of the North and South Seas, and the great Salado river.

News of Paquimé; the cattle roam six hundred leagues

IN THIS last part of Paquimé where the general Francisco de Ibarra turned back, we obtained much good news of provinces and towns, of houses six and seven stories high, and of orderly, peaceful, and industrious people who wore cotton blankets and gathered quantities of corn, beans, calabashes, and fruits. They possessed all sorts of game and fowls, and caught large numbers of the woolly cattle. The latter are plentiful in the plains, lands, and provinces extending over six hundred leagues to Florida and Quivira. This does not include those regions and places whose extent has never been discovered. Although Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca did not see them in La Florida, he was told of them and given of their meat and skins. Francisco Vázquez Coronado found them four hundred leagues beyond Cíbola, and Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado four hundred leagues from the city of Mexico. Francisco de Ibarra found their hides, bones, and manure on the river and in the province of Paquimé, five hundred leagues from Mexico.[284]

Location of New Mexico; the Tibuex is the Del Norte

According to the information obtained by the general Francisco de Ibarra from the natives and the accounts which I gathered from those who had been in these provinces and places, "I consider it conclusive that the new discovery,"[285] the province

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[284]At the time of the coming of the white men the buffalo roamed over a much greater area than in later times. See Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 169, 170. Remains of the bison (tooth, bones, horn, and a small piece of skin) have been found in a cave on the upper Tularosa river in Socorro, New Mexico, by Dr. Walter Hough of the United States National Museum. See Lyon, M. W. "Mammal Remains from Two Prehistoric Village Sites in New Mexico and Arizona," *Proc. U. S. Nat. Mus.*, xxxi, p. 648, Washington, 1906. This probably is the southwesternmost limit in which bison remains have been found in recent times.

[285]The phrase in quotation marks is omitted by Cuevas.

of San Felipe of New Mexico, is situated fifteen leagues from the strong pueblo of Acuco.[286] This is truly certain because Francisco Vázquez Coronado discovered this town and had five soldiers visit it. It was likewise seen by the discoverers of the province of San Felipe of New Mexico who accompanied "Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, and by those who went with"[287] Antonio de Espejo. I have compared these three expeditions and all are agreed in regard to the distance from one place to another, and in regard to this large river. The latter is called Del Norte by the men with Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, and Tibuex by Coronado's followers.

Tuzayán; exploration south from Cíbola; the Tibuex river; two Mexican Indians from San Hipolito

Farther on are the towns of Tuzayán[288] discovered by Don Pedro de Tovar, captain and *alferez mayor* of Francisco Vázquez Coronado, and those which had been discovered by Don García López de Cárdenas toward the sea and gulf of California. This stream called San Felipe of New Mexico is without doubt the river Tibuex where the army of General Francisco Vázquez Coronado remained until he returned from Quivira.[289] It is so alleged by two Indians who spoke the Mexican language and who were found in these provinces by Antonio de Espejo. They said that they had remained behind when Francisco Vázquez Coronado passed through those lands and that they were from the city of Mexico, from the suburb of San Hipolito.[290] They have corroborated the contents of this my relation.

Settlers of New Mexico must be aided

I am stating all this in order that your royal Catholic majesty may know what was traversed and discovered by Francisco Vázquez Coronado, although that of which they gave account has been extended. It is a new discovery and I do not

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[286]Ácoma.

[287]The part in quotation marks is omitted by Cuevas.

[288]The Moqui (Hopi) towns.

[289]Part of Coronado's force under Arellano was stationed at Tiguex during the commander's absence in Quivira. Lowery, *op. cit.*, 328.

[290]They were found at Zuñi. Obregón says there were four, Andrés and Gaspar, brothers, from Mexico, Martín from Tuiala and Anton from Licican. See pages 325, 326 and note 427.

doubt that they saw some towns not visited by Francisco Vázquez Coronado or his captains. So it is befitting that your royal majesty should grant great favors to those who went to settle these provinces and villages made up of houses of such great height. They are situated on the return route and come down to the plains and places where the woolly cattle are found, except those regions near the southern coasts, namely, the valleys of Señora, the Tizón river, and the coast and gulf of California.

Location of houses of great height

The houses of great height are first found three hundred and sixty leagues from the city of Mexico toward the north, and are not found in the warm or rough lands. Those that have been discovered are in lands of the same climate and nature. The houses, the customs, and the provisions are all alike. As these towns were the first to be found they give promise and hope of larger ones at the principal place of their establishment. They are located in very extensive lands and seem to indicate that there are in them many settlements with such high houses and similar customs.

Here your majesty can employ the idle and needy vassals found in this New Spain, and indeed they are not few. They are anxious to carry out this undertaking. This would be a good method of discovering and settling newly acquired lands and towns of great importance and interest for your *real hacienda.*

Information gathered by Coronado; the Turk and Isopete differ; report of a river and canoes at Quivira

The general Francisco Vázquez Coronado also obtained some news at Quivira, the last land he reached on his expedition. However the two guides, Isopete and the Turk, did not agree but differed in their reports. The Turk especially was contradictory, and the general Francisco Vázquez Coronado ordered him to be garroted for giving false news. They had stated that ten days from Quivira toward the west was a large river inhabited by many people who wore clothes, who gathered much corn, and who possessed many canoes. This was considered untruthful because of the dealings they had had with the Turk. Thus this is still doubtful. Nevertheless it is considered true,

because since that time this same information has been given to the explorers who have been in these lands, and in particular to Antonio de Espejo.

Information given by a Frenchman

Tidings were also brought by a Frenchman who fled from Florida at the battle and annihilation of his companions on the coast by the former marquis of Florida Pedro Menéndez. He affirmed that on his journey and wanderings until he came to Pánuco, land of the Christians, the natives told him of the provinces, plains, and regions frequented by the cattle, of many towns composed of houses of great height, and of people who had clothes and quantities of provisions. They indicated that all this existed toward the north.

Salado river discovered

Juan Juárez, a former inhabitant of Rodilla, discovered and visited some large towns in the year 1550.[291] At that time a boat which had left Ireland with a cargo of hides and tin lost its way and sailed many days to the northwest. Then it entered the mouth of a river in the month of April of that year. This river was seven leagues wide at the widest place and five at the narrowest. The water was salty. He sailed up this river two hundred leagues. There were no towns on its banks. Finally they came to some shoals and landed. Half a league farther on they found another salt water river of the same breadth. They built four brigantines and equipped them with artillery. Ninety-six men embarked and continued up the river another two hundred leagues. One morning they found themselves in the midst of some large Indian settlements, and about four hundred canoes came out toward them. They discharged the artillery at them whereupon the Indians raised a flag of various colors as a sign of peace. They approached one another and the natives asked them by signs to disembark. After they had landed, the Indians took them before a king who wore a copper crown on his head. This king had a body guard of four thousand beardless men who wore white skins and carried in their hands bows and

[291]This tale, which is pure fiction, is based on one of several papers written by Menéndez, in which substantially the same story is told. Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, I, 50, 51.

arrows tipped with copper and flint. They marveled to see people unlike their own race and having different clothes and customs.

Battle with Christians; fight between French and Portuguese

After seeing them the king went to his palace and appointed some one to look after the lodging of the Christians. They remained forty days among these new people who gave them many turkeys, deer, and tortillas of corn. Two women wearing cotton clothes came to see them and by signs they [the Christians] understood they were daughters of the king. At the end of the forty days, they quarreled and in the fight that ensued the natives killed six Christians while the latter inflicted great damage on them with the artillery. They returned to their boats, taking along the provisions they could get and those which were presented to them. They went away, taking fresh water from the rivers that empty into the Salado river. After getting back to their ship they came to the coast of the codfish and to the coast of Spain where they encountered a Portuguese vessel. They fought, but on account of the bad condition of their ship surrendered and were taken on board the Portuguese boat. The captain and the pilot, who were Frenchmen, drowned.

Report of Juan Juárez, discoverer of the Salado

The men were taken to the city of Porto. They did not render a written, merely an oral report. Juan Juárez, a native of Rodilla near Burgos, went to the city of Mexco where his testimony was taken under oath by order of the viceroy Don Luís de Velasco. Under this oath he gave all the information contained in this relation, telling by what winds they entered and left the many settlements they had seen. He affirmed that he had seen crescents and bracelets which seemed to be made of gold and that he had seen large quantities of high grade copper. The viceroy Don Luís de Velasco commanded him not to leave the city of Mexico under penalty of death, and he died there. It seems certain that this information obtained through these channels is the same that was given to Francisco Vázquez Coronado at Quivira, to Antonio de Espejo, and to the other discovers in the provinces of New Mexico. These accounts are in the

possession of the heirs and successors of the former viceroy Don Martín Enriquez. They were given to them by Antonio Sotelo de Betanzos.

Two gold plates

The general Francisco de Ibarra found two copper plates worked in the shape of crowns. He also found these regions to be very cold and similar to the lands of the great Salado river in regard to houses, climate, lands, and altitude. Owing to these similarities and the fact that they are situated in the same direction, it seems certain that it is the same land. Or at least it is nearby and borders on the land of this Salado river, the coast of the codfish, Quivira, Cíbola, Tuzayán, New Mexico, and other nearby districts.

In the same way the Tizón river was discovered by Marcos Ruiz de Rojas.[292] Many Indians were seen there although they were naked and lived in underground houses. This river was also visited from the sea by Alarcón and reached by land by Melchor Díaz.[293] These two were captains of Nuño de Guzmán. This river is in the gulf of California, is very deep and has very high banks. It has not been learned what sort of people live along this stream. It comes from the plains of the cattle and empties into the South Sea. This arm of the sea, called gulf, is inhabited along its entire length. However it is not known what sort of clothes the people wear, what they eat, or the kind of houses they inhabit. We have seen only numerous columns of smoke along the coast and farther inland. Apparently it is inhabited throughout.

This entire coast is unbroken and connects with that of Quivira, Cíbola, Tibuex, New Mexico, and Florida. This land was also entered by the general Hernando de Soto who in the year [1539] went to settle Florida with a large expedition. As he found it poor in people and provisions, he went on to discover new settlements. He marched six hundred leagues through deserted mountainous lands inhabited by a few naked, poor, wretched, and worthless people. He went northwest toward the

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[292]Marcos Ruiz de Rojas commanded one of the ships of Alarcón's expedition. See note 67. Cuevas confuses this passage. The second and twelfth lines on p. 197 of his *Obregón* are interchanged.

[293]See chapter III above.

coast of Ireland. He found large quantities of metals in the mountains and many pearls and oysters on the coast of the North Sea. He suffered many hardships. Consequently there is no object in going to discover these desolate and uninhabited lands.

Furthermore seventeen adventurous soldiers who were at the cape of Santa Elena with their general Pedro Menéndez, marquis of Florida, went inland to discover new lands.[294] They went north by northwest from the said river. They crossed great marshes and mountains until they came to a large mountain ridge containing quantities of silver. From there they descended to more temperate lands with good valleys and pastures until they came to a large lake well inhabited by Indians who were adequately dressed in cotton clothes. They had terraced houses one and a half *estados* in height; they had towns of six and seven thousand men and others less populous. It is a thickly settled land. They gather quantities of corn, beans, salt, calabashes, and use the woolly cattle. This account was attested by one of the seventeen soldiers previously mentioned, called Morales. He stated that this settlement is five hundred leagues from the cape of Santa Elena in a northwesterly direction toward Ireland.

Moreover the *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez went to discover, see, and explore the new lands located between the San Mateo river and the one called Espiritu Santo which empties near Pánuco. He had two brigantines, one of them manned by Captain Cristóbal de Herrera, a resident of the city of Mexico and a native of Puerto de Santa María. They went up the river about two hundred and fifty leagues and saw but few settlements. After having navigated the aforesaid leagues and reached the end of the river, they came to a lake called Maymi. It is about twelve leagues across and in the middle of it is a small island with a little hill like a piece of loaf-sugar. Here over fifteen hundred canoes came to make war on them. The Indians are aggressive archers and wear tanned deerskins. They fought him for three days, but he forced them to retire to the island of the hillock as it was large and strong enough for their defense. From some who surrendered peacefully they learned that an

[294] This story is evidently to be classed with the purely fictitious.

arm comes from that lake and empties into the Espiritu Santo river, the one that empties near Pánuco, which agreed with the account they had for finding it. On this lake great battles are fought between the different native factions in their canoes, and it is a strange sight to see the way they fight with such large numbers of canoes. Thus they did not go on to discover the river communications between New Spain and the settlements of Florida. They did not go ahead because they had learned what they wished to know, and they wanted to undertake the expedition with more people and provisions as was necessary. They returned by way of this river, which is half a league wide in some parts and in others one mile. It is of fresh water and inhabited in places.

After this the said Captain Herrera with fifty men reached a place between twenty-nine and thirty degrees. He marched toward the west and sometimes toward the northwest, going about two hundred leagues up and down hill. In these two hundred leagues he did not find any mountains but only plains covered with forests of oak and pine trees. Along this route he found chestnuts, acorns, wild grapes, and nuts. The settlements which he found are well planned like fortresses, surrounded by palisades of timber, the walls and terraces made of clay. The people wear cotton blankets called *maxtles* tied at the waist, and blankets of tanned deerskins and of hides of the cattle. At the end of the two hundred leagues he came to a great mountain range at the foot of which he found a very large settlement. There he met a cacique called Guaiquiri who was the lord of the town and who rejoiced immensely on seeing people different in customs and nature from his own. He gave them [the Christians] food for three days and asked them where they were going. They told him that they were going to join their brothers who were in New Spain. He informed them that by marching for a moon and a half they would reach them and that if they were looking for the other sea they could reach it in two moons.

The cacique was very much grieved when he heard that they wanted to proceed on their way, since there is another cacique with many people on top of the mountain. He wanted their support and aid to destroy him. The said captain replied that

he was not going to harm or make war on anybody, but that he wished to proceed with his journey. When the cacique saw this he thought the captain was going to help the other cacique against him and that night he gathered a large number of people. The cacique Guaiquiri fell upon the said captain and his people. He fought them for three days until they were forced to return to the place from which they had started. They had been traveling for three months and were out of ammunition.

From appearances and from the samples of mineral which the soldiers took and assayed when they returned to the fortress this mountain range seems to contain large quantities of silver metal. The towns are well grouped and consist of white clay and wooden houses two and three stories high. They have well arranged streets and squares. The people wear cotton clothes and cattle and deerskin blankets. Their traffic consists of bartering the products of the cattle for corn and *cacina*. This is a leaf used in making a drink. They obtain it in trade from the people who live on the coast, in exchange for the herb called *picete*. It seemed as if this inhabited region had over thirty thousand Indians, not counting those which were heard about, but not seen.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Which sets forth the reasons why the harbors on the coast of La Florida and on the gulf of the South Sea are not suitable for the transportation of the things necessary for the discovery of New Mexico, Paquimé, Quivira, and the surrounding districts.

The ports are distant

ONE OF THE most useful and necessary things for the growth of the cities, towns, and villages of the newly discovered lands and provinces in the Indies, islands, and mainland of the Ocean Sea and the dominions of your majesty, is that [these settlements] where they intend to settle and establish themselves must have access to ports near the sea. They must be in safe places that have already been proven accessible for ships. In this manner these establishments could be supplied with all necessary things at moderate prices. Thus the profits, fruits, tribute, and products of such new communities could be preserved, since those which lack this convenient transportation must buy merchandise at excessively high prices. For this reason settlers avoid such towns, nor are they sought by agents.

Harbors must be sought diligently; transporting goods by land is costly; two hundred leagues to South Sea

In view of the fact that those provinces and newly discovered lands are lacking in seaports it is proper that I should explain and prove the great necessity there is that generals, governors, captains, and explorers who undertake these expeditions should exercise wholehearted energy and care in searching for and acquiring harbors, rivers, or lakes which they may be able to utilize. They should be nearby and easily accessible without danger or risk, in order that the products of the residents and the trade of the merchants could be developed and carried on, and that these cities, towns, and villages which would be established might be supplied with provisions. If these harbors are not discovered the difficulty, danger, and expense of sup-

plying such settlements through distant and deserted lands, far from Christian settlements, would be great. The place closest to these regions from which supplies can be obtained is Santa Bárbara, which is separated from the province of San Felipe of New Mexico by two hundred and sixty leagues of desolate and enemy land. The South Sea and the port of Yaquimi is over two hundred leagues from Cíbola, Paquimé, New Mexico, and the other provinces in these regions. To travel back and forth to that port one must cross high mountain ranges, rough and cold at the summit and toward the north. They are very warm in places, extremely craggy, and inhabited by warlike people who make use of the poisonous plant.

A town in the valley of Señora

On account of these inconveniences the South Sea and its harbors are of no benefit for the transportation of the necessary provisions or the commerce of the provinces mentioned above. However a city could be founded in the Señora valley in order to communicate with the harbors of the South Sea from there. From the Señora valley merchandise could be carried to Paquimé, Cíbola, New Mexico, and the neighboring settlements possessing houses of great height. They are all in the same place and latitude, in the region to which the cattle come, between thirty-six and over forty-six degrees north latitude.

Florida far from New Mexico

Standing with the back toward the South Sea, one faces the coast and sea of Florida, which is far away, over four hundred leagues. The intervening land is inhabited by naked people, lacking in provisions. Most of these lands are deserted, uninhabitable, and the natives without houses, organization, or good mode of living. This is told by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in his history. According to the journeys which he made from the coast of Florida to the river of New Mexico it seems that the distance is over three hundred leagues.

Pedro Menéndez also set out northward from the coast of Florida to find new lands.[295] To this end they went inland two

[295]In November, 1566, Menéndez sent Juan Pardo from Santa Elena to discover and conquer the interior country from there to Mexico, in order to connect the two frontiers. Going northwest he reached the snow-covered

hundred leagues and reached the mountain range, but they did not cross it nor did they come to the plains of the cattle or to the mountain range of Pánuco, which is over two hundred leagues from the plains of the cattle and from the provinces of the high houses. From these facts and experiences it seems that the North Sea is over four hundred leagues from these provinces and settlements. Moreover the farther one goes beyond New Mexico, Cíbola, and the regions toward the west, so much more distant is the coast of the North Sea. Even if it were two hundred leagues nearer, the mountain range, the swamps, deserts, hills, and scanty provisions possessed by the few natives found between these provinces and Florida, would greatly hinder communication. On account of these reasons and that which is affirmed by those who have sounded the ports I doubt if there are any large enough and so situated as to be of profit and use for the provinces and towns mentioned. There are no harbors with the required facilities, nor is there any use in trying to find them in these explored regions.

Distance from coast to coast

It is a noteworthy and certain fact that the breadth of the land from one sea to the other is over six hundred leagues in some places.

Location of lands to be discovered; place where the horses froze to death; Carabajal's territory

Likewise I am warning those who may start out to discover new lands and settlements beyond the mines of Santa Bárbola not to look for them within two hundred and fifty leagues to the left when going west. If they did so, they would enter the great rough mountain range whose slopes are extremely rugged, laborious, and uninhabited as far as the southern region. Its peaks and slopes toward the north are very cold. Many of our horses froze to death there. Toward the south are the valleys of Cinaro,

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Alleghanies in western North Carolina, established two garrisons on the way, and returned. Boyano, left at one of the garrisons, made expeditions into the mountains, and in 1567 marched southwest to Chiaha near Rome, Georgia. Being joined there by Pardo, they set out "in the direction of Zacatecas and the mines of San Martín" in Mexico, but were turned back by Indian hostility. Bolton and Marshall, *Colonization of North America*, 64.

Mayanbo,[296] Yaquimi, Señora, Guaraspi, Cumupa, and the others near them. Toward the north is Mazapil, the lake of the sierras of Pánuco[297] and the *gobernación* of the new kingdom of León which was settled by the governor Luís de Carabajal.

Lands to be discovered; land beyond Quivira

From that place to the west are lands with savage nations. These people have no dwellings, order, or provisions. These lands were traversed and seen by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions. They have been crossed on one side by the French and on the other by Pedro Menéndez and the captains who got lost farther down in Florida.[298] They made the definite statement that as far as the provinces and towns of the houses of great height and as far as the slopes of the great sierra toward the south, they had not found any people or districts that could be settled or that would be of any profit. For these reasons those who might be inclined to discover new lands and settlements must go beyond the provinces of San Felipe of New Mexico toward the northwest, and to Quivira, west of north, by way of the sea and coast of Ireland. They must go through the great Salado river, which was discovered by Juan Juárez, a resident of Rodilla, who found many very profitable settlements toward the north in fifty degrees latitude. It is considered certain that these places are joined to those of Quivira, Cíbola, New Mexico, and the others near them. This is due to the fact that they are similar in altitude, characteristics, and coldness of climate. Since the land beyond New Mexico and Quivira has not been traversed or explored by Christians it should be discovered gradually, as information is obtained, because these are new and untouched lands, very favorable for the discovery of settlements of great importance. They will bring prestige and reward to those who may explore them.

Report of the Salado river

Moreover both French and English have affirmed as a well

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[296]Cuevas confuses these two names as follows: *Zinaroma y Ambo.* Cuevas, *Obregón,* 203.

[297]Cuevas has *Paitiuco. Ibid.* The word is not distinct. It looks like "Painuco."

[298]Obregón here repeats the current misconceptions already noted. See chapter XXXII.

known fact that beyond Quivira is the Salado river, discovered by Juan Juárez, a native of Rodilla. An English and a French fleet, on separate occasions, have navigated it, and their crews saw the populated, plentiful, and profitable places as described by Juan Juárez. Accordingly all three explorers attest this discovery, and judging from the descriptions which they and others have given, all refer to the same place.

Acles came to settle the Salado river

This information was given to me and Gonzales de Guzmán Ovando by a Frenchman.[299] It was repeated to me by a Juan Ingles who said that the coming of Juan Acles was to settle this river Salado by authority of the queen of England, but that storms, mishaps, and lack of provisions drove him to the rich town.

Belief in the Strait of the Cod

Likewise it is deemed certain that near this Salado river, beyond Quivira and its limits, is found the strait of the codfish, through which one could find a means of communication between the North and South Seas. Consequently those who go to explore must come to these regions and follow the information which I have explained. The rest that is undiscovered will remain hidden as long as it may be the will of God our Lord. Such explorers may select from these accounts, notices, and forewarnings what they deem most useful and profitable. Likewise they should keep in mind the warnings given in the following chapter regarding the proper policy to pursue in war and in making discoveries in these new lands.

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[299]Naturally this has nothing to do with the accuracy of the information.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Dealing with the qualifications, character, and temperament that must be possessed by the generals, governors, and captains chosen by monarchs and princes in power; and with the course to be pursued in new discoveries in order to avoid distressing mishaps.

Selection of leaders for new discoveries

EXPERIENCE is the teacher and guide in cases of doubt; it is the shield and weapon against inconveniences, and the enemy and remedy of unfortunate undertakings. It is preferred to the advice of the wisemen, of the ancient and modern historians. It is a teacher of science and good counsel. In virtue of this fact I dare to put together this example of efforts bedecked and mixed with colors of wonderful accomplishments and adornments of virtuous deeds. Those who should like to make use of or inspire themselves in its pages should consider the utility of the deeds and efforts described and pay no attention to the one who compiled them.

Their qualifications; teaching of Saint Paul

Oftentimes experience compares with science, especially in military matters. My purpose in stating this is good. I desire to be right in giving straight-forward, useful, and profitable advice for the proper Christian conduct of carrying on war, expeditions, and founding settlements in newly discovered lands, wherever your majesty, or princes and magistrates acting in your name, might order towns to be established. When these authorities select, designate, and appoint generals, governors, and captains for the said discoveries, expeditions, and establishments, they should provide themselves with all the information, and exercise the care necessary for suitable elections that they may be carried out justly and in accordance with the importance of the merits, virtues, and qualifications of those who rightly should be sought, chosen, and appointed. They should inform themselves regarding each of the candidates, especially of their services, merits, conduct, and habits. For it is a well known fact that the governorships, offices, and captaincies are often

entrusted to men who would never have been heard of if they had not had recourse to unfair means, cleverly disguised flattery, gifts, and schemes. Others, although deserving those appointments, are not considered. At least they do not apply for them, following a modest policy and the saying of Saint Paul which states that no one should take, aspire to, or solicit an office until called.

Example of David; reproof of Samuel

We have an example of this in the Holy Scriptures when God sent Samuel to select a king for Israel. Isaac[300] was presented to him. He was sent to Samuel in order that one of his sons might be chosen king. The text says that Elias,[301] one of his sons, was introduced to him. According to the Scriptures, he was a man with a very handsome face and able-bodied. Then all his sons were brought forward. God said to Samuel that he should not take into consideration the beauty of Elias' countenance or the height of his stature. For, says God, I do not judge by outward appearances but by what lies at the bottom of the heart.[302] As Isaac had forgotten David, the youngest of his sons who was on the mountain taking care of the sheep, Samuel requested that he bring David before him. When he arrived, God told Samuel to select him king of Israel. In this manner David was selected and anointed king of Israel by the hand of Samuel in the midst of all his brothers. He was the youngest and the most neglected of them all. Isaac had not introduced him to Samuel as a possible king. Thus occurred the just election of a person who besides being ingenious and educated was a good Christian. These virtues, justice, and equity, as may be read in *Ecclesiastes*, he guarded, preserved, and exercised with more diligence and better order than many arrogant wisemen.

It must be understood that those who make appointments should exercise their bounden duty with diligence and painstaking effort, informing themselves fully and faithfully in re-

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[300]It should read Jesse. The error persists throughout the passage. See book I of Samuel, chapter XVI.

[301]For Eliab. *Ibid.*

[302]"But the Lord said unto Samuel, Look not on his countenance, or on the height of his stature; because I have refused him; for the Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart." *Ibid.*

gard to all things necessary for the useful and profitable conduct of war, for the attainment and conservation of peace and harmony, and for the reduction of the natives and those under their jurisdiction to Christianity. They should consider and resolve with all industry the disposal to be made in all cases to further the service of God our Lord. This can be accomplished on the one hand by mortifying the five physical senses, and on the other by enlivening the faculties of the soul with Christian intentions and good means that will stop, hinder, and eliminate wars, and the hatred, enmity, and discord of war; and by carrying out the elections, the expeditions, and the founding of communities. Following this method, order, and precaution, they will imitate the election of David, and their selection will be tempered with Christian moderation. This will be the occasion and means that may be agreeable to the will of God our Lord, Who embraces, amplifies, and preserves all things. By observing this Christian precept, your majesty and your successors, princes, and magistrates, will fulfill your duty and make the choice which you owe the law of God our Lord and the success of Christian warfare.

Friars; respect due them

After this selection the most useful and convenient thing in warfare and in the conquest of new lands is to take friars along who may administer the sacraments to the Christians and to those newly converted in the recently settled areas. Those who are in authority should order that these churchmen be well treated, honored, and respected, in order that this respect may serve as an example to the new converts that they may imitate it and give full credit to the preaching and teaching of the Holy Gospel. There are many examples of this throughout the Indies. Owing to the respect in which the preachers are held by the Christians they are esteemed, revered, honored, and obeyed by the neophytes. By these means and by favoring, defending, and treating the religious properly, the natives obey and venerate them and have faith in what they are commanded in the teachings of the Holy Gospel.

Harmony between leaders and soldiers

Hatred or enmity must not be permitted to arise between the

leaders and the soldiers. This will hinder and put a stop to the misfortunes that ordinarily grow out of this bad seed of hatred and which breeds great harm and discord among those who rule and govern.

Medicine to be provided; arms needed in fighting Indians

When going on expeditions one should carry medicinal remedies to cure the diseases and wounds that usually occur in time of war, and especially an antidote against the poisonous plant. These remedies consist of quince juice and raw corrosive sublimate. The latter must be put on the wounds. The quince juice is to be drunk. The swellings must be cut open near the wound and the cuts powdered with corrosive sublimate. It is essential to carry good coats-of-mail of medium mesh, for if it is very fine it is destroyed by rust, and arrows pierce it more readily than if it is coarser. Thus the mesh should not be too small or too large but medium, because that resists the force of the arrow more effectively. It does not need to be cleaned, which is not the case with the fine mesh.

One must carry helmets having flaps of chain armor on the sides to protect the neck and the back of the head. One should wear breast plates and jackets of buckskin, and *escuaguipiles*[303] outside of and beneath the armor as protection against flint-tipped arrows. It is important to have breeches of chain armor, leather shields, horse armor, and knotty woven blankets as they are better and more durable than the leather ones.

Culverins to reduce large houses

Good harquebuses with supplies and duplicate parts should be carried. Most of them should be operated by fuse because it often happens that the damp powder makes the firing of the flintlocks difficult. Moreover the harquebuses with fuses are easier to handle. The ones with flintlocks often need a mechanic to make repairs and to replace the pieces that get out of order. One must take along culverins to fight the Indians who are accustomed to fortify themselves in their houses as hap-

[303]For *escaupiles*, an ancient form of padded armor.

pened to Coronado at Cicuic.[304] As they had fortified themselves they could not be subdued for forty days.

Animals and iron for long journeys

One should take along pack horses and mules that are used to the hardships of the road. They are much better than the others.

Artisans for long trips

Large quantities of iron for horseshoes and the largest possible amount of nails should be brought. If the iron gives out during the expedition it causes great inconvenience and makes it impossible to go any farther, as happened on our expedition. Because the horseshoe nails gave out we were forced to turn back, leaving many horses behind. It is necessary to bring skilled blacksmiths, farriers, and carpenters with implements to practise their trades. The carpenters can build boats for crossing rivers, lakes, and gulfs that often hinder and prevent explorations. Thus harbors and rivers may be located and through these channels trade and communication with the new lands and communities may be carried on. The smiths make, repair, and provide all necessary iron articles for the army that may be out of order or worn out. The farriers should be taken along to cure and shoe the horses and mules belonging to the army.

Losses when poorly equipped

It is a notorious fact that because some generals who went to discover and settle new lands failed to go provisioned with these things many deaths, misfortunes, and shipwrecks have resulted.

Good ammunition, which should be inspected and distributed with moderation, must be taken along. It should be kept away from moisture and kept in the sunshine in order that it may not lose its strength. It must be protected when wading bodies of water and during showers so that it will not get wet. From time to time it should be dried in the sun or in pans over the fire.

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[304] Pecos.

Neglect of the guards brings disaster; mounted guards

The watches and sentries should be divided into four parts as the first quarter of the night is very long, tedious, painful and sleepy. It is important to watch and guard oneself with much precaution, care, and earnestness. The guard should be mounted and the horses should carry poitrels with sleigh-bells in order to hinder the Indians from attacking and giving battle during the night. The attack at night is very dangerous, because the people can not see one another and do not know from whom or from what direction to protect themselves. The watch and sentry should be distributed among good soldiers, men of conscience, training, care, and pride, because many losses, hardships, and deaths have occurred in the war owing to the carelessness of poor guards. During the daytime mounted guards should be placed, because the natives not only shoot the horses but scare and steal them if they stray from the camp.

Playing-cards to be banished

All the playing-cards possessed by the soldiers should be destroyed on leaving the towns and in places where they cannot obtain others. In so doing a great deal of harm and many unpleasant circumstances would be avoided. If soldiers did not have cards they would not gamble away their valuables, arms, and horses which they need on expeditions. They would occupy their time in fixing up their arms and the other things necessary for the success of the journey and peace would be preserved if playing-cards were not present.

Towns should not be entered

Efforts should be made to avoid having the army enter or pass through any settlements in order to prevent the damage caused by the soldiers, and the harm done to them when they gamble their belongings and arms, when they ruin and exact service from the residents, and in the fights which they usually stir up.

No parades in towns; pay and bonus for equipment

Military reviews, parades, or public roll-calls should not be held in the cities, towns, or villages where soldiers are being recruited and selected. If these ceremonies cannot be put off it

should be on the condition and with the understanding that the pay and enlistment bonus given the recruits should be spent for practical things, such as arms, clothes and horses, and other things necessary for a successful conquest. The clothes should be of native or Castile cloth, showy articles being avoided. This should be done in order that the majority of the men may not spend their pay on them. They acquire, scatter, pawn, and wear out these articles before they receive pay or aid from the *real caja* or from their generals. They spend their money in the stores of merchants, who besides selling them goods on credit at exorbitant prices make them buy trappings that they may go forth looking well and showing off on these parades, forgetful of the things that they are going to need when traveling in lands and places where they cannot obtain succor. It is proper that the generals and leaders who are in charge of such soldiers should avoid and prevent these things. The distribution of bonus and payments should be made with the object that the soldiers may use the money for arms and clothes of native or Castilian cloth. In this regard they should imitate one another that it be not overdone. In this way the men will not be jealous of one another on account of their personal appearance or military equipment and they will provide themselves with the things that are necessary, durable, and essential for the trip. Otherwise before the expedition starts they will have spent and consumed their aids and payments on trappings, gambling, and illicit things.

Women must be respected in new lands

Heavy punishments should be imposed in order that the soldiers may not dishonor the wives and daughters of the natives, especially those who are not yet baptized and those who have recently been converted. This must be observed in the towns and places which they settle or merely pass through. When they fail to keep and obey this just and Christian law of discipline and chastity, the natives usually revolt, because it is like poison which perverts their hearts and incites them to destroy and kill those who perpetrate these offenses.

Examples of Columbus, Coronado, Guzmán

We have examples and experiences of this among the first discoverers whom Don Francisco Columbus left at Santo Domingo,[305] who, because they wanted to take advantage of the women and daughters of the natives of that first land of the Indies, were killed. The same thing happened to Nuño de Guzmán, who had settled in the province of Chiametla, and to those whom Francisco Vázquez Coronado had left in the Señora valley. He had left Diego de Alcaraz with one hundred men. Of these only six Christians escaped. All of them were found in these parts and places. The natives annihilated, destroyed, and killed them because they had used their wives and daughters for dishonorable purposes. By avoiding these practises and by living with precaution, without poisoning the minds of the natives or vexing them, the soldiers will observe the law and precept of God our Lord and set the natives a good example. They will eliminate disturbances, wars, and massacres.

Moderation in distribution of supplies

It is essential to observe care and moderation in the distribution of provisions. They should be acquired through proper and peaceful means, requested and bought from their owners in exchange for goods, all with their consent. Provisions should not be taken by force, but if this were done, it should not be till, with Christian moderation, the necessary entreaties and warnings had been tried.

Messengers should be sent ahead

Messengers should be sent ahead to the towns "through which the army would have to pass, especially to the settlements"[306] and places that have not been visited and where Christians have never been seen. They should offer peace to the natives and carry them some articles as gifts to oblige and attract them through kindness. It is well known that animals

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[305]Obregón is evidently thinking of Christopher Columbus who left a small colony at Navidad on his first voyage in 1492. On his return the Indians reported that the Spaniards had gone away with their wives and daughters. Columbus did not find one of his colonists alive. See Bourne, E. G. *Spain in America*, 25; 35, 36.

[306]Cuevas omits the phrase in quotation marks.

can be tamed, taught, and brought under control by kindness. This same method can be used in subduing and pacifying the natives.

Settlements to be apart from the natives

The armies and Christian communities must be located apart from the settlements and plantations of the natives.

Live stock to be brought

All kinds of cattle should be taken along to succor those places in need of provisions, as well as to increase and multiply the stock in places where there is a lack of cattle. Goats in particular are of great advantage when going to discover new lands far away. They are good walkers and can travel four leagues in a stretch, so they do not hinder the march to new regions which must be made by stages.

Indications of native revolts

It should be noted that when the natives do not come forth, but hide their wives, daughters, and provisions, and build great smoky fires, that these are signals of war by means of which they call and warn one another.

Gifts for new lands

Showy articles of cloth from the locality, such as used in Mexico, should be taken along for barter; likewise glass beads and trifles, jet trinkets, small hatchets, *tarequas*, knives, punches, and needles to exchange for provisions and other things that may be found in new lands; and friendly Indians from this section who might be of service on the expedition and in case of war. Thus the people in the new lands may follow the example of these peaceful Indians when they see them serve, respect, and obey. They may learn from them how important it is to become Christians and that they cannot prevent it by force of arms should they wish to resist.

Concubinage not allowed

Concubinage must not be allowed in the army. On account of this offense God our Lord often permits defeats in war, and does not grant favors or victory.

Implements for mining silver

Quantities of shirts, breeches of cloth and canvas, footgear, pots, copper pans, tents of very coarse linen, well lined and provided with the necessary nails and poles so that they can easily be put up, should be brought. There should be carried along all sorts of implements used in searching for and mining silver, and also bellows and implements to smelt metals.

Setting one foe against another

Advantage should be taken of the enemy by setting those of one district against the opponents and foes of another, if it should become necessary, as was done by Don Hernando Cortés in the conquest of Mexico and by Francisco de Ibarra in New Vizcaya.

Mining and military regulations

The ordinances of war should be improved and compiled with Christian equity, and it should be commanded that they be observed, kept, and fulfilled under heavy penalties. This should also apply to the mining laws, because some of them are harmful, dangerous, and apt to give rise to litigations and discord. Because of this unjust situation, mines are frequently taken away from their owners and given to others who have not discovered them and who have no claim to them.

Regarding personal service

Moderation should be exercised in exacting personal service from the natives where settlements have recently been established, and it should not be done at once. On account of being oppressed and compelled to give tribute they often rebel, as was done by those of the provinces of Cinaro, Chiametla, Xalisco, and those in the valleys of Señora. In these rebellions they harrowed and killed their encomenderos, and in both places they remained victorious and it has not been possible to subdue them.

Leaders to be considerate

The leaders should be cautious not to say anything to any man that might be injurious or offensive to him. They should be careful that their language is used to honor and favor all, and not to discredit anyone. They should chastise with justice and

reason those who may have erred or who are at fault. This punishment should not be accompanied by anger or be made offensive by insulting words. Unless this advice is followed, the leaders will be depriving the executioners of their calling.

Reprimand to be in private; leaders must be affable

The captains must rule and govern the soldiers with kindness, prudence, and good words. They should privately reprimand them for their negligence, indolence, and errors in order to justify their trials, if it should be considered advisable to punish them in public, as an example to others. The leaders should be affable and unaffected in wartime and the first to take part in the dangers and hardships of war. They must set their subordinates an example of good Christian lives and habits, because their errors are more noticeable and deserve greater punishment than the faults of their inferiors. On account of such incidents of neglect and wrong-doing the soldiers ordinarily have little respect for their leaders.

In regard to all those things that I may forget and which my mind fails to recall the time and occasion will indicate what should be done. Those concerned will act according to the nature of the cases, events, and new people in the lands where they may be, in conformity with the habits and ways of the natives, and in accord with the principles, practises, and rights of the things pertaining to our holy Catholic faith.

CHAPTER XXXV

Which relates how the general Francisco de Ibarra and his army returned from the plains and the river of Paquimé to found a town on the Yaquimi river on the coast of the South Sea; and of the privations, famine, and hardships they experienced and suffered in crossing the great mountain range.

From one hardship into many; failure owing to poor soldiers

THE COWARDLY soldiers had become frightened at the dangers they endured in the valleys of Señora. In order to avoid their repetition and in the belief that the return trip could be made with less danger, they persuaded the general to take a different route, leaving the enemy lands on the one side. In trying to avoid such privations they entered into some that were greater and worse. They descended the mountain ridge for some distance and went on over its slopes and valleys.[307] The general and the good soldiers were displeased, sad, and rueful that they were not able to succeed in finishing the expedition owing to the lack of reliable soldiers.

Savage people

There were found on the sides of these mountains toward the north, some small towns inhabited by but a few vile and wretched people. They live on acorns, calabashes, and all sorts of game and wild reptiles; they do not sow or gather corn. They received the general with the same ceremonies as the people of Paquimé had employed with Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. These valleys are very beautiful, fertile, and well provided with water, mountains, pastures, and a good climate.[308]

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[307]If the soldiers were at Casas Grandes in Chihuahua they must now have gone south, crossed the Bavispe, and perhaps the Aroz, and finally the Yaqui.

[308]The dry river beds of the Southwest were once not so. "Everywhere the plains were grass covered to an extent unknown at the present time, the ranges being now as a rule over-grazed. The valley bottoms were covered by a dense growth of perennial Sacaton grass, oftentimes as high as the head of a horseman and so thick and tall that cattle, horses and men were easily concealed by it. Indeed, in early days it was necessary to drive cattle out upon the mesas at the time of the rodeos, where they

Crossing the sierra; the first lack of supplies

After marching for five days the general and Father Pablo de Acevedo thought it would be best to cross the great mountain range, hoping that the army might come to peaceful and safe lands. Rodrigo del Rio and I were opposed to this plan. Our opportune opinion was not taken into consideration, as the general commanded the army to ascend and cross the mountain range. The marshy and level ground covered with pumice stone located amid the darkness of the high and craggy mountains terrified them. The food that the army found in these mountains consisted of bitter, distasteful acorns from pin-oaks which upset our stomachs and made us sick.

Living on horseflesh

The army marched through this type of mountains for five days until it reached the crest "of this great range. On reaching its summit, we overcame"[309] the bitter acorn and mushroom food when Salvador Ponce decided to relieve the army with the flesh of a gray horse. This made us feel better than the acorns and mushrooms. There was not left any portion of hide or the bowels that was not eaten. We prepared and cooked pottages which on that occasion were more appetizing than the choicest dishes prepared here[310] in time of plenty. We lost the loathing and fear of eating sweet and spongy horseflesh and we ate it without salt or chile which we had exhausted two months earlier.

Poisoning from mushrooms

In this great ridge were found many snow-covered peaks, ex-

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could be seen and handled. The uplands were well covered with a variety of nutritious grasses, such as the perennial black grama, and the many annuals that spring into growth during the summer rainy season. The abundant vegetation, both on highlands and in valley bottoms, restrained the flood waters resulting from the torrential storms of the region, so that there was no erosion in valley bottoms. Instead, the rainfall soaked into the soil and made grass. Sloughs and marshy places were common along the San Simon, the San Pedro, the Santa Cruz, and other streams, and even beaver were abundant in places where it would now be impossible for them to live." Forbes, R. H. *The Penningtons*, 6. Speaking of Tucson in 1860, Forbes mentions "the chills and fever that then prevailed," where today all is dry and healthful. *Ibid.*, 12. Mr. Forbes was dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of Arizona for many years.

[309]The part in quotation marks is omitted by Cuevas.

[310]In Mexico.

tremely high and dark. There were rugged mountains, very high peñoles and cliffs which made us fear that we might not be able to cross the sierra. In the midst of this range some soldiers ate mushrooms which deprived them of their senses. This happened in particular to the general. One night after he had eaten them he arose from his bed, shouting repeatedly: "To arms, to arms." He rushed to a large fire in the camp, and if the men had not taken hold of him, he would have jumped into it. The soldiers and horses suffered greatly from the severe cold.

The general wished to return

After the army had marched three more days, we came to a greater, taller, and more imposing ridge of such a rocky nature that all thought of crossing it seemed futile. The general wanted to turn back but could not do so because he had descended such unusual gorges that neither the saddle nor pack horses could climb them. The horses were exhausted and some were left behind. The fact that they were used for food diminished their numbers.

A swift river; harassed by hunger; bleeding the horses

The army continued to descend this terrible and frightful country for three days. At the end of this time we came to a large, roaring, and swift river which swept along enormous cedar, pine, and oak trees. The water leaped over high rocks and cliffs, making such a noise that when near the river we could hardly hear one another, even when shouting. We were unable to ford it at that time. Here we were reduced to such a state that we were forced to eat the leaves of the thorny prickly pear, bitter amaranths, old and dirty leather straps, shoes, hides, wild agave plants and horseflesh roasted in barbecue style. As our horses were giving out we bled them frequently and consumed the blood which was wasted through fatigue and full of matter.

Difficulty in building rafts; famine and disease

The general decided to build rafts to cross the river. This was done amid unbearable hardships, for we had to get the lumber on the crest of a rough, hot ridge. We suffered untold fatigue, collapsing in our tracks on account of hunger and ex-

haustion. We were weak, sick, and starved. There was not a man who could stand on his feet for more than a moment; some sighed for food; others grieved over their faults and sins. They had no hope of getting out of those difficult mountains, and almost less of escaping with their lives. Some suffered from aches and ailments that prevented them from getting up from the ground; from the rough, hard, rocky, and steep mountain beds. There was not a level place where one could stand. On awaking we would be at some distance from the place where we had first gone to sleep.

Lack of a ford; hardship owing to rocky river

We could not find a ford during the seventeen days that we worked on the rafts in which we crossed. The furious current broke the heavy cables of which we tried to avail ourselves. The force of the stream carried us along so that all the men in the camp could not hold the raft for more than a quarter of an hour. Finally we crossed it six times by means of this intolerable labor. Marching close to the cliff, we came to a place where the river was much more furious and where it was doubtful that it could be crossed. Thus we found ourselves surrounded and walled in by very strong cliffs, precipices, and sharp rocks.

Two horses drowned; opposition to destroying the raft

Another raft was built and efforts made to find a crossing, but it was very dubious whether one for both man and horse could be found among the rocks. Hunger and worry afflicted and demoralized us every hour and the scanty feed for the horses decreased, for this is a sandy and stony land. A soldier tried to send his horses across the river to pasture. He urged them into the river so that they would cross, but they were swallowed by a furious whirlpool. This incident banished all hope of finding a place where we could cross on the raft, and for this reason the general ordered it taken apart. Salvador Ponce, Rodrigo del Rio, and I opposed this plan with much diligence. The general told us, with sadness and anxiety, his eyes full of tears, that God had willed that disastrous situation as a punishment for his sins. In order to overcome it, he gave us full authority to do whatever we thought best, and because of our requests, the raft was not taken apart.

Crossing the river

On the following day we put it in the still water and in the whirlpool where the horses were drowned. We fastened it with a strong cable about the thickness of one's thigh. It was made of all the cord and rope in the camp. By means of this cable and the fervent prayers of everyone God our Lord was pleased that we should cross. However only those who did not know how to swim went over. As the river had increased considerably owing to the heavy rains that had fallen and owing to the quantity of snow melted by the heat of the sun on the summit of the mountains, we could not complete the work of sending the supplies and servants across.

A strange occurrence

Cristóbal Osorio became paralytic in this place on account of being exposed naked for two days to the sun, the cold wind, and the heavy rains. Others became ill. With these and many other hardships we finished sending the remainder of the army and the horses across the river after it stopped rising. The horses were tied to the raft and taken over one at the time. The current of this river carried Vidal, the general's page, five leagues down the river, but since he had commended himself to our Lady, the Mother of God, she saved him from this danger and returned him unhurt to the camp the following day. His good fortune caused great satisfaction.

An unusual cañon; salt safeguards health

After all had crossed the river, we experienced greater difficulty in continuing our trip. For twenty leagues in every direction no pass was found that could be crossed either on foot or horseback. For many days we were unable to discover one. The general and the soldiers saw this grievous situation. It was believed that the journey to the valleys of Señora was impossible, since the men were sick and unable to stand the suffering which they would experience if he could induce them to return by the same way they had come; considering particularly the great height and roughness of the lofty mountains, the insufferable toil of fording the rivers on rafts, the poor health of the men, and the great lack of provisions and salt. The dearth of the lat-

ter saps the health and strength needful to carry on war, and endangers the lives of the men. The lack of salt in those wild regions is very serious, especially when one has to eat primitive foods, injurious to human beings and unhealthful.

Determination of the general

In view of these discomforting obstacles, the general decided to continue the march down the river on foot, leaving the baggage buried in a cave. Each one was required to take along all he could carry, including horseflesh. The horses should be left to shift for themselves. This plan was opposed by the majority of the soldiers. Without horses we could not defend ourselves from our enemies, for on account of the horses and harquebuses the Christians are feared by the Indians.

An offer to find a pass

While this argument was going on I offered my services to the general, comforting and encouraging the soldiers, who were privately discussing the best way each one could die in the service of God our Lord. They entertained no hope of leaving that great sierra, not even on foot. My proposal was to go search for and find a pass. I wanted to risk my life in that attempt. This offer inspired them to laughter owing to my great weakness and the fainting spells caused by hunger. This starvation caused my feet to falter and I was unable to stand. It happened to everybody in general. But as God was pleased to grant me strength, I gained courage and spirit, and as I insisted on my proposal the general decided to send me to look for a passage. They gave me a soldier named Martínez as my companion. He obstinately insisted on a wager that he was a better pedestrian than I. The governor authorized us to go into the mountains five leagues, and that if we did not discover a pass in that distance we should return.

Return of my comrade; I find food; a pass found

After marching two leagues my companion held back and tried to induce me to return. "He thought we had already gone farther than was required of us. Although he urged me to go

back,"[311] I left him and proceeded with my trip until I ascended six leagues of rough, dark, and imposing ridges. I put up for the night in the hollow of a large oak tree. In the morning I found a turtle in a stream. With it and the leaves of wild vines, I revived and escaped death from starvation which I had expected momentarily. God was pleased to spare me, and I gave infinite thanks to Him for succor in the moment of such dire need. This food gave me enough strength to return to the camp. I had ascended the great mountain range with its high cliffs, and through my endeavor and toil and at the risk of my life, God our Lord granted that I should find a pass for the army and save so many lives. I gave many thanks to Him for this favor and mercy.

The southern slopes recognized

This ascent is very difficult and steep. It is necessary to open a road over rough and dangerous cliffs. From this point I could see where the lands and valleys of Señora were located and that the road which the army must follow was toward the towns of Guaraspi, Çaguaripa, and Cumupa, which are near the town of Señora. I recognized that we were already on the slopes and basins of the southern region. I could distinguish houses of matting and reeds five leagues away.

Reward for the discoverer

After this successful undertaking, which no other soldier had been able to accomplish and which was considered impossible, I went down to the camp loaded with leaves of the wild grape vine. As soon as I arrived the hungry soldiers hung on me, begging me to give them some of that new and refreshing succor. I distributed it among the most needy. I gave the governor the good tidings of having discovered a pass for horses. He answered with incredulity and I certified it under oath. In remuneration for this service he told me that nothing less could be expected from such a good soldier. He was very much pleased, and seeing me barefooted, took off his hemp slippers and gave them to me. This was not a small favor or gift, as the ones which I had were worn out and had been mended many times.

[311] The part in quotation marks is omitted by Cuevas.

Death of a negro from hunger

On the following day the army marched through this unusually rough country. During the ascent some of the horses fell down the precipices and we used them to appease our past hunger. In this deep gorge a negro belonging to Cristóbal Osorio died from lack of food. Salvador Ponce remained behind to minister to and bury him. I went to relieve him[312] with three leaves from the wild and thorny prickly pear. He ate them with as much eagerness as if they were preserved lemon-peel. On arriving at the camp he ate some roasted horseflesh.

Food in warm lands

The next day the army continued its march through lands of different nature, quality, and temperature. They were warm lands. Here we overcame our hunger by eating palm tree shoots, *palmitos*,[313] *puchotes*, mountain dates, and other foods found in temperate lands. We saw large mountain ranges toward the South Sea. On account of this the soldiers kept pestering me, insisting that I was taking them to worse lands harder to cross. These mountains, although they can be traversed, seemed rougher than they really are, because we were looking at them from above. We found paths, and footgear made of palmetto leaves, indications that we were near inhabited places. The army stopped for the night on some level land a fourth of a league from a small town, without realizing that it was only two harquebus shots away.

An Indian seen

The next day when the army began to march, the general noticed an Indian and grasping his shield, rushed after the Indian, who fled in fright. When he was caught he fell down terrified at the sight of strange people, differing from him in nature and clothing. The general reassured him through the interpreter, and after recovering his breath and overcoming his fear of the Christians, he said that on the other side of the hill where we were was a small town, and that three days beyond were

[312]Ponce.

[313]According to Buckingham Smith, the *palmito* is the dwarf fan palm, not the cabbage palm. Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers*, 25.

the valleys of Señora. Consequently I was not mistaken in my opinion regarding the place where I thought the army would come out. Father Pablo de Acevedo was wrong in this respect. As he was an astrologer, he affirmed that we had reached a place fifty leagues farther on. Without being a learned man, I succeeded in taking the army out of those strange mountains. On this account I gained prestige with the general in guiding the army through such rough lands and in saving the soldiers from many hardships.

A small town

We found the little town of which the Indian had informed us. It has five houses and large quantities of corn, beans, and calabashes. In this place we satisfied the hunger we had endured and rested from the great and painful privations of the past. This was necessary as there were some who became ill because of exercising too little moderation in eating. We gave infinite thanks to our Lord for having freed us from untold suffering, famine, and danger. The general continued his journey to the river Yaquimi on the coast of the South Sea.

CHAPTER XXXVI

In regard to the great length of the enormous unbroken mainland in the kingdom of this New Spain; and the towns that could be established in useful and favorable places in the lands and provinces of New Mexico and the surrounding territory.

Extent of the mainland in the Indies; opinion of Illescas; of a history of Mexico

MANY HISTORIANS and ancient chroniclers have written in their histories and accounts about the length in leagues of the mainland. They got their information from people who had neither studied nor practised astrology, and were in error in recording such facts as true, things which had already been proven false. The historians had certified those accounts as beyond doubt,[314] especially Doctor Gonzalo de Illescas, chronicler of the second part of the *Pontifical*.[315] In it he states the mainland of the kingdom of Mexico consists of four hundred leagues of contiguous land. The same thing is affirmed by [Francisco López] de Gómara, author of the *Conquista de la Nueva España*.[316] This is stated even though the contrary is notorious, as has been observed and verified. It has been explored, measured, and proven that from the strait discovered by Magellan to Chile, the La Plata river, Peru, Guatemala, Mexico, New Galicia, Cíbola and Quivira, there is a distance of over twenty-six hundred leagues of continuous unbroken mainland.

Belief that this land extends to China

Moreover we know nothing about the lands beyond Quivira

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[314]Cuevas omits the negative, thus reversing the author's meaning. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 223.

[315]Illescas compiled the *Historia pontifical y catolica*, which contains the lives of the popes. Only the first two parts are by Illescas. The work went through many editions, the first appearing in 1574. *Biblioteca de autores españoles, desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros dias*, vol. XXI, p. xvi.

[316]Gómara's history appeared in many editions, including changes in title. See Wagner, Henry R. *Bibliography of the Spanish Southwest*, 1542-1794.

and New Mexico since they have not been discovered, explored, or traversed. There the breadth of land extends toward China and it is supposed that here are located many lands and nations of unknown people. From Quivira to the coast of Florida is a long stretch of mainland, and the region on that coast which is situated toward the east forms a part of it. Further we do not know how far the confines of this lengthy and broad mainland go. But it has been learned, verified, and demonstrated that these lands are as extensive as has been stated; in fact of greater length and width.

Habitable lands in the Indies

Those who have written about this matter have not been properly and truthfully informed. The things they state are neither reliable nor true. Nor are those people correct who wrote and affirmed that these lands are uninhabitable, on the ground that they lie in the torrid zone. This statement we recognize as unreliable, untrue, and contrary to what has been proven and learned through experience. On the mainland are found temperate and cold lands, and some having a very healthful climate. Others, in the warm lands near the North and South Sea regions, are insalubrious. Thus most of them are fit to be inhabited. The atmosphere is fine and warm, and there are pleasing and suitable dwelling places. In these lands are found the same products as are grown in Castile.

The best lands found; ports on the South Sea

From all that I have learned since the time of the great discovery "of Don Francisco Columbus[317] to this recent discovery"[318] of the province of San Felipe of New Mexico, and in regard to other explorations in all the Indies, in the islands and mainlands of this New Spain, your majesty does not possess any new regions with such useful and promising indications as those beyond New Mexico, Quivira, and the neighboring districts. If your majesty should command the provinces on the South Sea and gulf to be settled, the expedition should go by sea from the

[317]This should be Ferdinand Columbus, the son of the discoverer, who wrote the *Life of Columbus.*

[318]Cuevas omits the part in quotation marks.

port of Acapulco, since it is near and easily reached. It should anchor at the river of Cinaro, sixty leagues from Guayabal, the harbor of San Miguel de Culiacán. The first town could be established in the province of Cinaro, and another one forty leagues farther on, on the Yaqui river, eight leagues from the place where it empties into the sea. There is a port in this very river at the place where it enters the sea. Another town could be founded in the Señora valley, which is thirty leagues from the province of Yaquimi and forty from the South Sea. We did not find any harbor in its vicinity, the closest one of those discovered is that of Yaquimi.

A rough coast

This coast is rough because it is on a gulf and less than one hundred leagues in breadth. It faces the coast of California. In these provinces are well-to-do people, provisions, and metals. The valleys of the mountain ranges from twenty to thirty leagues away are inhabited by clothed people who live in terraced houses. This arm of the sea which is called a gulf is over five hundred leagues in length and less than one hundred in breadth, a few more or less. In some places it is wide and in others narrow. At high tide it extends down to the island of California,[319] and at low tide it is a part of the mainland that stretches to Quivira and Florida. On this coast of the gulf large numbers of people and many columns of smoke were seen. It is believed that it contains many towns. Most of this coast and the interior region has not been explored.

The island California; inhabitants; divers on Cardona Isle[320]

In California are high bare mountains. It is a thorny and craggy island inhabited by naked cannibals, the most primitive, immodest, dirty, vile, and wretched people ever seen or known in the Indies. Besides eating their own excrement they do not act with propriety, nor do they consider it immodest for the women

[319]The idea that California was an island took shape in the time of Cortés and persisted for over a century and a half. See Wagner, Henry R. *California Voyages*, 1539-1541, 9; and Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 168, 169.

[320]The name Cardona was occasionally applied to California from a cactus found along the coast. Wagner, *California Voyages*, 9.

to place themselves on all fours and have intercourse with the Indians before one another and the Christians at any hour of the day like mere animals.[321] They wear their hair long, stretching to the waist. They are warlike from pure bestiality. They are wonderful divers and practise that activity in finding pearl-bearing oysters in water from fifteen to twenty fathoms deep. This is their ordinary food. They also eat all sorts of wild reptiles, game, and cacti.

Number of whales

In this gulf I saw numerous whales from which ivory could be obtained. On the voyage to the Philippines a continuous mountain chain stretches from the island for a distance of over six hundred leagues. Along this region navigators have seen numerous smoke columns and many Indians on the beach. It is believed that the coast and the mainland are populated by many people, and it is possible that they are clothed people who possess gold and silver. It is important that your majesty send someone to explore and investigate the secrets of these extensive lands which are thought to have good towns. This should be done in order that the Holy Gospel may be introduced among those nations and that God our Lord may be served and your majesty's vassals and dominions augmented.

Expedition to New Guinea

Furthermore a fleet composed of three boats left this New Spain, from the harbor of Navidad, on October 4, 1564,[322] to discover New Guinea on the island of Mindanao. The chief pilot of the fleet, by order of your majesty, was Father Andrés de Urdaneta, an Augustinian friar who at that time was sixty years of age. They were to return to the said harbor of Navidad or to Acapulco. When they reach forty-four degrees north latitude, they must begin to descend until they arrive at the said

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[321]Cuevas omits the following passage: "Porque demas de comer su propia suciedad no se recatan ni tienen por caso deshonesto ponerse las mujeres á gatas y aprovecharse dellas los indios unos delante de otros y delante de qualesquier cristianos y en qualquiera hora del dia como bestiales animales." Cuevas, *Obregón*, 225.

[322]Chapman states that the expedition left Navidad, November 21, 1564, and reached the Philippines, February 13, 1565. Chapman, *History of California*, 85.

harbor. It was done by order of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza through a cédula granted him for that purpose by his imperial majesty, of glorious memory.[323] He sent a fleet from the port of Navidad, situated on the coast of the South Sea in the region of Colima. It was discovered in the year 1545. Extremely black negroes like those of Guinea are found there, and also many precious stones, fine silver, gold, civet-cats, and parrots, as is affirmed by those who discovered it.

Use of the negroes

If your majesty should order this land to be settled many Christian results would be obtained through the conversion of that barbarous nation, and also through the advantages that would come from the enrichment of the *real hacienda.* This expedition would cost less and require less time if carried out from the Philippine Islands, provided the passage is not too difficult from there. The voyage from the coast of Acapulco has already been tried. If these negroes can be made slaves by the same regulations and means as those of Guinea, beside using them in their own lands, they could be employed in mining gold and silver. They would be useful in the Philippines and in New Spain. The *real hacienda* of your majesty would derive great avails from this undertaking in royal fifths as well as in *alcabalas.* A still greater good would be to serve God our Lord through the conversion of this barbarous nation that lives without the light of faith. In so doing your majesty would gain inestimable praise for an accomplishment which is indeed the obligation of your majesty. In this manner the natives would be protected, bettered, and brought to justice and harmony, and started on the road to salvation. This is one of those tasks which your majesty is accustomed to undertake in your kingdoms and dominions.

Width of mainland at Mexico City; at Quivira

It is a noteworthy and ascertained fact that the mainland

[323]In 1559 Philip II ordered Velasco, the Mexican viceroy, to equip an expedition for discovery in the Philippines and to search for a return route to Mexico. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands,* 112. Obregón is mistaken in attributing the order to Charles V, who died in 1558.

near the territory and city of Mexico does not separate the North and South Seas over one hundred and twenty leagues. One sea is sixty leagues to the north and the other sixty leagues to the south and the city of Mexico in the center. Accordingly it does not compare with the great breadth of the lands of Quivira and its regions extending to Florida and the gulf of the South Sea; from the coast of one sea to the other. Thus it is over five hundred leagues from sea to sea. In most of this mainland and along these coasts are spacious and inhabited places where your majesty can employ your vassals and convert the ignorant to our holy Catholic faith.

Pearls in California

I have been an eye witness of some of the things of which I am giving account to your majesty, especially of those in the region along the coast from Acapulco to the Tizón river and California, where I went to serve your majesty in the company of Don Antonia de Luna, my father-in-law. He went to that island to fish for pearls.[324] In three days he obtained a large number of oysters through the help of the native divers of the island. Among these people were found large quantities of misshapen, burned, and unbored pearls damaged by fire. The marquis found one which he valued at more than five thousand ducats; and many others of high value were secured by the soldiers whom he took along. If the said Antonio had gone at the proper time and occasion and persevered in the expedition, there is no doubt that he would have obtained numerous large pearls.

Spring on California island

Those who may go to this island should provide themselves with fresh water. Within two harquebus shots from the shore in front of the harbor of the marquis Don Hernando Cortés is a spring which flows into the sea. Its water must be drawn when the tide is low.

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[324]This paragraph should be compared with the last one of chapter XVIII of this volume.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Which explains how the general went to punish the natives of the valleys of Señora for certain thefts and the killing of horses; how the author made horseshoe nails without a forge; how the army passed through three districts of Indians; and how the people of the camp became swollen from eating salt.

Lack of iron

IN THE rough and rocky parts of the craggy and rugged sierras the horseshoe nails brought by the soldiers were used up. On this account many horses were left behind as their hoofs wore off. Their number diminished every day, some being eaten and others left behind, nor were we able to remedy this loss so dangerous to our lives. Without horses we cannot overcome our enemies. Accordingly the general tried to make bellows out of horsehide, but without any encouraging results. Therefore he tried to reach less stony land on the coast of the South Sea.

Horseshoe nails

While we were in this precarious situation, I devised a way to make horseshoe nails. I succeeded in doing it without fire, making the points on an anvil and leaving the heads in the shape of a right angle. I made them out of girth buckles, harness, sword-belts and of the iron of stirrups. We shod our horses and all the others, and every soldier learned something from the teachings of necessity. This was so fortunate that if we had not contrived to make these nails we would have lost our horses because of the unusually rocky condition of the ground in the sierra and because the heavy rains softened their hoofs to such an extent that in a short time they lost them, and we could not make the animals move about. Horses shod with this kind of nails were good for eight days. I found this remedy which enabled us to escape from that place and to save the lives of all those in the army. I do not doubt for a moment that we would have been lost if we had failed to keep our horses.

Horses killed near Señora; punishment inflicted

From this place the army continued its marches through the mountains, skirting the settlements of Señora, which had been hostile in the past, and who showed their unfriendliness by killing some of the horses upon our arrival. The general did not pay any attention to this and continued to march slowly with the army for two days. Then he came back one night when they suspected nothing and at daybreak gave them a bad morning greeting, for he punished them much to his desire. He killed, wounded, and put to flight very many from that town. However Pedro de Montoya and Juan Ruiz were wounded. Pedro de Montoya endured untold suffering and pain. He carried this wound for twenty years without ever being completely healed. The flesh from the calf of his leg fell off entirely. The wounded part of the leg dropped off. Raw corrosive sublimate was put on the wound in order to stop the effect of the poison.

A guide; victory; swelling from eating salt

The general seized an Indian in this town who served as guide. After gaining this victory he turned back, taking the Indian, and went on with the army until he reached Batuco.[325] Here we found salt for the first time since our supply had given out. It was found in very small rolls. As we had been without it three months we ate a great deal, so strong was our craving for it. On the following day all awoke in a swollen condition. That caused us no little surprise. Owing to this swelling we cast off several kinds of intestinal worms and other filth. These things had grown in our stomachs because of eating wild foods, and the salt had destroyed them. It is well known that salt preserves health and life.

Valley of Pipa

In these valleys we were plentifully furnished with everything needed. These valleys of Pinebaroca and Paibatuco[326] are on the river Yaquimi and touch those of Huparo.[327] They

[325]In the valley of the Moctezuma. See note 238.

[326]The reference is evidently to the region between the lower Yaqui and the Sonora rivers.

[327]The province of Huparo was near the coast on the lower Yaqui, it would seem.

ties of good fish. On its shores are many fields of corn, beans, and calabashes. The people are kind. The women are beautiful and go about naked. Their long hair is worn loose and reaches to the waist. They cover their privy parts with green grass. The general explored this river as far as the sea. There we found clusters of coral and quantities of pearl-bearing shells. The natives presented the Christians with gifts of fish, game, and other food which they had in their land.

Desire to settle Yaquimi; answer from Cinaro

When the general saw the large number of people and the supply of provisions he decided to found a town there, as had been agreed at the council of Paquimé. He sent ten soldiers to the settlement of Cinaro to request the *maeso de campo* for reinforcements of soldiers, implements, iron, ammunition, and moulds for adobe-walls for building a fortress and founding a town on the Yaquimi river. The *maeso de campo* replied that he did not have the soldiers or the things that were asked of him. Not only was he in need of men but also of such supplies. Besides being in want many soldiers had deserted him. He expressed the opinion that it would be better if the general went to preserve and support the town of Cinaro. It was more fitting to conserve that than to lose what had been gained in trying to conquer more. At the same time he notified him of the discontent among the soldiers he had left, caused by the fact that he had not assigned them their *repartimientos.* This was the reason that those who were away had fled. He pointed out that his return to Cinaro was important for many reasons, especially to protect that town and others in his *gobernación.* He said that Cinaro was on the verge of being abandoned.

Petition of the natives; hunt by people of Yaquimi

In view of these warnings the general decided to go to Cinaro, intending to return to settle the province of Yaquimi. When the general had reached this decision he asked the natives for guides, which they furnished unwillingly. They grieved to see the Christians leave their land. They begged the general not to depart. They promised to provide food for all as long as he wished to remain in their lands. He responded that he would

come back shortly to remain among them. Disappointed in their request they quickly assembled two thousand brave and brilliant Indians, provided with the weapons which they use. They were ordered to gather at the road, after organizing and carrying out a good farewell hunt and rejoicing with us. At the same time they intended to go attack their enemies of Mayonbo.[329] For this reason they treated us well, and the general kept up the belief that he was going to aid them in war against their enemies.

On the level shores near a bay the two thousand Indians emerged, forming the wing of a circle. They covered a fourth of a league. As they suddenly came into view we were on the alert, fearing that they were coming to attack us. Some of the soldiers got excited and took to arms. But since the guides knew that it was only a celebration which they wanted to perform for us they told the Christians not to worry, that the Indians were waiting to entertain them with a hunt. The hunters began to carry out the chase. They surrounded a marsh with much shouting, rejoicing, and nimbleness. Thus in a short time they caught and killed much game, deer, hares, rabbits, and quail of all kinds. This they presented to the general in large quantities, some of the game being alive. This hunt was the most showy and brilliant I ever saw.

Groves of Api; Yaquimi natives plunder Mayonbo

The general could not prevail upon these people of Yaquimi to go back, so the next day he marched with the army through mountains covered with an unusual growth of *chictelpin* intertwined with wild prickly pears and thorny trees. It was necessary to break through and open a road as we went along, and even though the Indians helped, it was very difficult to cross. This Yaquimi river is twenty leagues from the Mayonbo river. The Indians entered that region with much determination and courage, killing the people and plundering and destroying the houses and fields of their enemies. It was only with great effort and many threats that the general was able to stop it. Then the desolation ceased and he reconciled them. As a sign of friend-

[329]Mayonbo, on or near the Mayo.

ship they returned the captives that had been taken in war. They exchanged their bows and arrows to indicate the cessation of hostilities.

Three thousand Indians at Mayonbo

The general explored this river[330] from the sea to the mountains. He found as many as three thousand Indians, more or less. The river region is fertile, having good lands well planted with corn, beans, and calabashes. After having restored peace, harmony, and friendship among the natives, he promised to come back to visit them and to defend them against the damage inflicted by the people of Yaquimi. He went on with the army through small towns for three days until he reached the province and town of Cinaro.[331] He came back with only two persons less than the number he had taken along when he left the town. He was received with much love and gladness by the *maeso de campo* Antonio Sotelo de Betanzos, and by the residents, magistrates, and authorities of the town. This was done because it was fitting and because they thought all had been killed at Çaguaripa. This was the news they had received two days after the battle which took place there. The general and his soldiers dismounted before the church where the friars offered a *Te Deum*. Through these and other prayers they gave thanks to God our Lord, for the benefits and great mercy He had shown in saving them from so many unusual hardships in which they had risked their lives, and for having brought them back to the lands of the Christians.

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[330]The Mayonbo.
[331]San Juan de Sinaloa on the Fuerte.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

How the general distributed the towns in the province of Cinaro; of his departure for Chiametla; and how he undertook the settlement of the provinces of Guaynamota and Guazamota.

Inspection of the province; distribution of towns

THE SOLDIERS lacked the things necessary for waging war owing to the delay of the army in traveling through lands where these could not be provided. All were needy and anxious to know the remuneration they were to obtain for their merits and services. For this reason they asked the general to distribute among them the towns of the province. He agreed to do so. To put this into effect he ordered the *maeso de campo* to visit the towns of the province and to estimate the number of people in each place. He did this in a very short time.

After having been given an account of the inspection, [the general] began to distribute the towns. The first to whom he assigned an encomienda was the *maeso de campo,* who received the capital of the province called Cinaro, and Huiri; they contained six hundred Indians. He gave Don Alvaro de Tovar the town of Ocoroni, which had six hundred inhabitants. The other towns he distributed in order, giving each man according to his merits, services, and worth. Some residents of Culiacán came to live in this town and bought some encomiendas from the soldiers. This was allowed in order to increase the town. The general took leave of the *maeso de campo,* whom he granted permission to go and bring his wife, children, and household.[332] This misfortune brought about the abandonment of the province. If he had not gone away the town would have been able to hold out through the care, interest, and prudence with which he had maintained it in peace and harmony.

The governor in Chiametla; accepts title of señoria

The general also took leave of the residents. He took along

[332]Betanzos was in Mexico early in June, 1566. See note 215.

those who failed to get *repartimientos.* He marched as far as the town of Culiacán. Here, after being welcomed with all possible solemnity, he was informed of the imprisonment of the marquis Don Martín Cortés and his friends Alonso de Avila Alvarado and Gil Gonzales de Avila.[333] And as the events that take place in remote regions are interpreted in different ways, so the general thought that his presence together with the people of his *gobernación* would be necessary for the defense and service of this kingdom of your majesty. Accordingly he gathered on his way all the people he could from San Miguel de Culiacán to the province of Chiametla, where he was well received by Hernando de Trejo and the residents of Chiametla. The general was pleased to find the town enlarged and well provided with settlers, houses, and everything else necessary. He also found occupied the good mines of gold and silver in the sierra, seven leagues from the old town. As the settlement was permanently fixed, he accepted the title of *señoria* at the instance and entreaty of the residents, who maintained that that was proper for the ornamentation of his *gobernación.*

Expedition to Guaynamota and Guazamota

After he had finished giving stability to the towns, mines, and villages of his *gobernación,* he got ready people and provisions to settle the provinces, mountains, valleys, and mines of Guaynamota and Guazamota.[334] For this purpose he appointed Salvador Ponce as captain and leader of the undertaking. With much diligence, interest, and care he went ahead with the expedition and inspected the mountains and valleys at great labor and at the risk of the lives of those whom he took with him. It is a rugged land, covered with a heavy undergrowth and sparcely inhabited. The people he met were naked, habitually at war, and plundering their enemies. This expedition was undertaken on account of the great fame of the rich metals which had often

[333]The Avila brothers were executed August 3, 1566, but Cortés was spared. For a full account of the conspiracy, see Bancroft, *Mexico,* II, 602-636. This incident lends further proof that Ibarra's trip to the north occurred in 1565. See note 219.

[334]Guaynamota and Guazamota were near the border of the province of Chiametla and Durango in the San Pedro or Guadiana valley. See map in front of Bancroft's *North Mexican States,* I.

been told of by friars and captains who had been in those mountains and surrounding territory. The metal had been estimated at thirty-four *marcos*, but they were unable to find it. That land cannot be settled until rich metals have been found and assayed. This is due to the fact that it is rough and sparcely populated and because the people are indomitable, savage, coarse, and wicked, without permanent houses or deer. He inspected, examined, and investigated all these things in order to give an account and explanation to the general. From this tour he returned with diligence to Chiametla without any disastrous or noteworthy occurrence.

Death of the general

When this last expedition was over the general wanted to effect the discovery of the provinces with the houses of great height and also to settle those he had discovered. He desired to satisfy himself in regard to the origin and principal stock of the people of these provinces and of the ancient Mexican Culguas. He was prevented in this by a lack of resources and because it was not the wish, pleasure, and will of God our Lord. Moreover the thread of life of the gentleman so beneficial and useful to the service of God our Lord, and the increase of the vassals and *real hacienda* of your majesty, ran out.[335] It is deemed certain that had he lived a few years longer he would have realized his good intention and have reduced many peoples and towns to the obedience and knowledge of God our Lord, and to the service of the royal crown of your majesty, thereby adding to it many vassals, royal fifths, and more tribute. Idolatry, abominations, and sins engendered and inspired by the detestable and subtle deceit of our enemy the devil would have been eliminated and destroyed.

General Francisco de Ibarra was the legitimate son of the licentiate Pedro Sánchez de Ibarra, descendent from the ancestral house of Ibarra of the town of Hivar. After his father became a widower he was appointed inquisitor of Toledo. His brother, uncle of the said Francisco de Ibarra, was inquisitor of the kingdom of Navarre and the bishopric of Calahorra. He

[335]Francisco de Ibarra died on August 17, 1575, a victim of consumption. He was only thirty-six years of age. See Mecham, *Ibarra*, 222, 223.

was likewise a native of Ybar. They were brothers of the *comendador* Diego de Ibarra, and uncle to the general Francisco de Ibarra, native of the town of Hivar. All are descendants of the said ancestral house.

The said general had been brought up and educated at the house of the said *comendador* Diego de Ibarra and later served as a page to the viceroy Don Luís de Velasco. As a result he was a well instructed, capable, and accomplished man. He was a good grammarian, learned, self contained and a good Christian. He spent seven years exploring and conquering, with much equity, good order, and Christian fervor.

The Holy Spirit, Whose grace I invoke for all related in this work, demonstrates completely the benefits of love and the charm of learning, for in chapter seven of the Book of Wisdom,[336] we are told that kingdoms, power, and riches are insignificant in comparison with learning. Precious stones, gold, and silver are as empty as the atmosphere or resemble mud in its presence. Moreover it says that we must love it more than health because its light cannot be extinguished; all things come with it; it is the origin of all possessions; and its treasure is of infinite value to man. This very thing is also stated by various other authorities in the Sacred Scriptures as well as in all other treatises by learned men of all sciences and fields of endeavor.

Thus whoever finds a fragrant flower which is similar to another should bring it to the notice and knowledge of some learned man. Likewise he should acquaint him with the different customs of the Indians that inhabit the newly found lands, Indians who lack the treasure of the sciences and the sacred teachings. These things should be brought to their attention in order that as true Christians they may intercede before God our Lord, to enlighten the natives with His holy doctrine and Catholic faith, and that He may uproot and banish the vices from their lives and the wretched mode of living from their lands which are contrary to the law of the Gospel.

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[336]Cf. chapter 7 of Ecclesiastes, and 8 and 9 of Proverbs.

Book II

Which deals with the discoveries and explorations in the lands and regions of San Felipe of New Mexico, Cíbola, Ciquic, Tuzayána, and nearby regions, by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and Antonio de Espejo and those who accompanied them.

PROLOGUE TO BOOK TWO

Appreciation of letters and arms

HE SUPREME power and will of God Almighty, Who, with incomparable equity and concert made all beings and supports and preserves them, created man in the model and greatness of His divine image, and appointed him the most deserving and worthy of all. He ordained and endowed man with the laudable and virtuous knowledge of letters that with this gift he may learn and understand the secrets, the proper and difficult things for governing with justice, peace, equity, and harmony. He also ordered and established discipline to punish the disorderly cases and events, of which we have reliable proof. We know especially that after giving man these special virtues He will give him the true reward of His divine presence in eternity if he uses them with Christian propriety. Moreover in anticipation He grants men in this present life prestige, honor, and riches, if they do everything with the moderation and harmony befitting. These things must be done without departing from His divine precept and will.

By means of science and the sacred writings one can resist, overcome, and rout the faithless enemies of our holy Catholic faith; convert the ignorant who live in darkness and are unacquainted with the glory and greatness of God Almighty and lead them on the road to salvation and to the precious knowledge of His divine power.

Through the application and exercise of discipline justice is feared and respected. It moderates and restrains the abominable and unreserved greed which when unchecked often grows deep roots in men of bad conscience. This is caused by the subtle and hateful craft of the devil working against the precepts of God our Lord and against Catholic monarchs and their vassals.

With this double-edged sword, deceit, which is damaging to the truth and excellence of our holy Catholic faith, may be cut away and eliminated. Our faith will be defended and come to

be feared by the blind enemies who lack the light of faith and its glory; and all things will receive their due and just reward and regulation. The empires, kingdoms, and dominions of Catholic emperors, kings, and princes will be established, augmented, and exalted. Finally the divine word and will of God Almighty will and should be guarded, fulfilled, and executed in such a way that the Catholic community, even though it is divided, should be reduced to a single body.

Good opportunity not to be wasted

He who knows the truth, advantage, and use of these practises, important and beneficial for such accomplishments, and fails to profit by them must be a worthless individual of mean and idle intellect. This would be especially true of those persons to whom these virtuous and religious opportunities are offered and who fail to take advantage of them, particularly those who have no property or wealth where they are living.

Study and exercise of arms elevating

These things should also be undertaken in order to win favor before God our Lord. By so doing He permits this machine [the world] to be ruled and governed, and men to leave behind them immortal fame achieved by the glory of their good and famous deeds in such activities. They will merit it if they have preceded others in discovering and bringing new lands to our knowledge and dominion. The will of God our Lord will enable us to convert, rule, and exploit the natives of the newly found provinces of San Felipe of New Mexico.

The chief promoter of the expedition; he obtains two friars

These places were discovered by Father Agustín, a native of Ayamonte del Condado.[337] He was a lay brother and wore the habit of the order of Saint Francis. Moved by the will and grace of God our Lord he was the author and principal agent of the said discovery. He solicited and obtained the grant and commission for the leader and the people who discovered it, from Don Lorenzo Xuárez de Mendoza,[338] Count of Coruña, viceroy and

[337]Fray Agustín Rodríguez. Bolton says he was a native of Niebla, Spain. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 138.
[338]See note 282.

captain-general of this New Spain and president of the audiencia and royal chancery there established. As he was the principal promoter of the said expedition he asked for two friars in order to direct and carry it out, to undertake the conversion of the natives who might be found and assembled and to administer the sacraments. For these purposes they appointed Father Francisco López, a native of Seville, as guardian, and Father Juan de Santa María, a native of Valencia, who also belonged to the same order, as his companion.

Commission for the leader; eight men recruited

The commission which Father Agustín obtained was directed and given to Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, a native of the bishopric of Coria in Cáceres, who was born in the town of Arroyo del Puerto. He took with him eight good soldiers whom the said Father Agustín had enlisted and brought together with great care and earnestness. These soldiers were: Hernando Barrado, a native of the town of Montanches; Pedro de Bustamante, from Santander; Hernando Gallego,[339] a native of the city of Seville; Pedro Sánchez de Chaves, a native of Almodovar del Campo; Felipe de Escalante, a native of Laredo; Pedro de Herrera, a native of the city of Lisbon; and the brothers Pedro and Juan Sánchez de Fuensalida, natives of Fuensalida. It is known by experience that God our Lord imbued them with boldness and courage, and favored them with His grace in carrying out and accomplishing the discovery of the said provinces of San Felipe of New Mexico.

Date of departure; duration of the trip

This exploration was started on June 6, 1581. From the time of the departure of the expedition from, and the return to Santa Bárbora, [sic] the last Christian settlement toward the north in the extreme inhabited part of the *gobernación* of New Vizcaya, eleven and one-half months were spent. [340] The boun-

[339]It is usually written Gallegos. The name Barrado is given as Barrundo by Bancroft. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 75.

[340]Bustamante and Gallegos were in Mexico in May, 1582, giving reports of the expedition.

dary of the said *gobernación* is one hundred and eighty leagues from the city of Mexico.[341]

In order that such notable events, worthy of the praise, appreciation,[342] and reward of your majesty, might not be forgotten and buried in oblivion, I decided to record them in this commentary and account, that they may be praised and honored by those of good judgment and unprejudiced minds. Those who took part in such virtuous deeds deserve that tongues be engaged in thanking them and fame in rewarding them as they so justly deserve. This should be done that the glory which they so rightly merit may be perpetuated and that other vassals of your majesty may imitate them in similar services and in obeying such a powerful, mighty Catholic king and lord.

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[341]The San Gregorio river in the modern state of Chihuahua marked the frontier of settlement in this period.

[342]Instead of *loa, merecimiento*, etc., Cuevas has *los merecimientos*. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 243.

CHAPTER I

Regarding the trip of the discoverers to new lands; the type of Indians met on the expedition; and how they were received in their towns and lands.

New lands found only by God's will

IT IS CONSIDERED as true that the discovery of new peoples, nations, and lands has not been and will not be effected until God our Lord may be pleased that the time for their discovery and enlightenment as determined by His divine will has arrived. The mystery that they had remained unknown for many years is reserved for the almighty knowledge of God our Lord. We have seen that in our times numerous nations have been found and subdued. They lacked the light of faith and were situated in distant lands, far away from those of the Christians. They could have been found long ago if it had been so determined by the rightful and just will of God our Lord.

Past attempts at discoveries

We also know and have seen the great eagerness, care, expense, and effort which emperors, kings, princes, and rulers of the world have undertaken on being informed of the secret things and discoveries in the rest of the globe. It is known that they doubted that there was anything to be discovered in the way of new lands and nations, as they had believed and taken for granted that everything had been explored, traversed, and investigated. They doubt that there are any unknown lands. The efforts, labor, expense, and expeditions undertaken by order and commission of the viceroys who have resided in this New Spain in order to learn and discover the origin, stock, and natural roots of the ancient Mexican Culguas, are also notorious. They wanted to find the settlements of the regions toward the north and the houses of great height, which God our Lord was pleased should now be discovered by a small number of people with little expense or hardship.

Power of God to permit discoveries

Thus it is evident that the power and plan of God our Lord is applied and allowed to operate with great righteousness. By favors and compensation for services He rewards those who merit it for the deeds and acts justly accomplished, and punishes those who fall into error and are without grace. It is His will and purpose which determines when and how they shall be discovered. The time when this is to take place never fails to come, nor does it go beyond the limit within which it is to take place, nor does He fail to indicate the number of persons who have been and are to be the agents for His purposes.

Government at time of discovery of New Mexico

We have seen through experience and reasoning that God our Lord was not pleased that the viceroys, generals, governors, and captains who have gone to explore, conquer, and settle those newly found lands should enjoy the honor and recompense for the discovery of the provinces mentioned above or of being the means of planting the Holy Gospel among the natives. God denied this that the glory should be won by the principal authors and leaders of His aims. These were Don Lorenzo Xuárez de Mendoza, Count of Coruña, viceroy and captain-general of this New Spain and president of the audiencia and royal chancery established there; and the previously mentioned friars, leaders, and soldiers. Likewise He granted that this glory should be shared by the generals, governors, captains, conquerors, and settlers who from now on may go to conquer, settle, and hold them in the name of your majesty.

Preparations for the expedition

The friars, leaders, and soldiers referred to were well equipped with offensive and defensive weapons and ammunition. They had seventeen Indian servants, two Indian women, six hundred head of stock, goats, sheep, and rams, and ninety saddle and pack horses. They had hard-tack, flour, corn, iron for horseshoes and articles for barter, esteemed among Indians in distant lands.

Among the Conchos for sixty leagues*

They started from Santa Bárbora on the aforesaid day, month and year[343] and marched down the San Gregorio river, the last region inhabited by Christians in that northern region. They traveled sixty leagues in the lands of the people called the Conchos.[344] They live along the Conchas river. They have been baptized and have intercourse with the Christians. On this account they received the explorers peacefully, serving them and willingly giving them the provisions they had.

Revolt of the Conchas; their pacification

From this region they continued their journey by short marches until they came to the land of the Chichimecos Indians, called *los rayados*[345] who became disturbed on learning that the discoverers were coming to their lands and towns. [They rebelled] because they were apprehensive and cautious due to the damage which had been inflicted on them by some companies of soldiers who had entered their lands to catch slaves, and who had carried some captives away in chains.[346] [The Christians] sent them an interpreter, whom the friars had taken along, in order to calm the disturbance and uprising. He reassured them and let them know that they were not coming to cause harm but to be their friends and to defend them from the damage which their enemies inflict on them in time of war.

God our Lord granted that they should receive the explorers in a friendly manner as a result of this precaution. They served and gave them the provisions they possessed.

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*This word is also written Conchas in the original and we have adhered to the author's spelling.

[343]June 6, 1581. See page 269.

[344]They followed the San Gregorio to the Conchos river, a distance of twelve leagues from Santa Bárbara, and then descended the Conchos to the Rio Grande. Sixty leagues was approximately the distance to the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande. Hernán Gallegos, *Relación y concudío de el viaje y subseso que Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado con ocho soldados sus compañeros hizo en el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico* (June, 1581). A.G.I., 1-1-3/22. An English translation by the editors is found in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, II, 239-268, 334-362. It is also published separately.

[345]So called because of their striped faces. Hodge's statement that this name was given them by Oñate must be modified. *Handbook*, I, 636.

[346]Slave-hunting raids among the unsubdued Indians were one of the evils of the frontier. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 12, 43, 44.

Reception by the Conchas

For fifty leagues they marched up the river among these barbarous people called Pataros.[347] Everywhere they came out to receive them in a friendly way, with presents of tamales, mesquite, prickly pears, and fine deerskins.

Reception by the Rayados; native ritualism

These above mentioned people had heard of the miracles that God our Lord had permitted Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions to perform in those parts. They had spent several days in their lands when they passed through them after being lost in the expedition to Florida. On account of these good deeds and miracles they received the discoverers with some ceremonies that consisted of blowing toward the sky. They made faces and insisted that we should touch them and make the sign of the cross upon them.

They imitate Vaca's party

In order to please them the friars touched them and made the sign of the cross upon them. This was also done by Pedro de Bustamante, who turned medicine man in order to gratify them, in the same manner as they said Cabeza de Vaca had done. After they had been touched and the sign of the cross made upon them they were very happy and said that they were now healthy and strong. These Indians are enemies of all those who live on the borders of their land.

From the district of these people the explorers marched up the river for nineteen days.[348] Some of the time they passed through deserted lands so desolate that not even birds were seen, and at other times through mountains difficult to traverse.

The Conchas and Rayados plant no corn

In these two districts the Indians live like wild beings. They are naked; they do not sow corn. They support themselves on mesquite, prickly pears, dates, game, and fish from the rivers. They will be hard to subdue because they do not have permanent

[347]Obregón uses the name Conchos to apply to all the tribes along the river of the same name. The Pataros were one division of these, it would seem. Cf. Patarabueyes in note 73.

[348]This must be an error for down the river. See the paragraph following.

houses; their neighbors live in the same way. They gave good news regarding the towns toward the north which are along the river.

Means of subduing the Conchos and Rayados

All these regions will be conquered and settled by Christians if rich metals are found. This must be done to convert them to our holy Catholic faith. However it will be tedious and difficult to accomplish because they live without any permanent dwelling-place and there is no way of forcing them into submission. They are like gypsies who carry all their belongings with them.

After the discoverers had marched fifty leagues down the Conchas river they entered another district, inhabited by people of different language and customs. They came to another district called Cabri. These people are neighbors of the Conchos who never go beyond the junction of the two rivers. The Conchos are barbarous, filthy, badly bred, bestial, and ill-featured. They call corn *sanate*, water *bate*, and each other *yolly*.[349]

[349]In the Gallegos document corn is called *fonet*, water *bod*, and the people *yoslli*. See Hammond and Rey, *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodríguez Expedition*, 14.

CHAPTER II

Which treats of the discovery of the Rio del Norte and of the people called Cabri and Rayada.

FROM THE last inhabited portion of the Conchas river the explorers marched through lands and mountains difficult to traverse, until they came to the junction of the two rivers, the Conchas and the Del Norte. After they had gone five leagues numerous people using a language different from that of the Concha came to receive them.[350] They were of better appearance, more gallant, skilful, friendly, and cleaner than those met before. They mark their faces in many ways with pleasing designs. They go about naked. They wear a little long and smoothly combed hair on the top of their heads which makes them look as if they were wearing small skull caps.

Reception by the Cabris; customs; their enslavement

They received the discoverers with much kindness and respect, presenting them with ground mesquite, bread of the same, maguey, beans, calabashes, and prickly pears. They eat all kinds of fish and game. This excellent and liberal reception was due to the message and good offer which they had sent to assure them that they would not be harmed but defended against their enemies, and that the Christians would not enslave them. Fearing this they were dejected, cautious, and had retreated to the mountains. They said that some companies of soldiers had taken their kinsmen, wives, and children captive and had enchained them. This was very unjust because these natives have never done any harm unless they were first offended. They [the explorers] assured them that in the future they would not be harmed by the Christians or by the enemies with whom they carry on war, but that they would restore friendship among them. All this was told them through the interpreter.

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[350]These people were the Cabris. See page 277.

Security for Cabris; sign of peace

They were so well pleased that they notified their friends of the news and sent for them. They and all their neighbors came in large numbers. They apologized, saying that they would have come sooner if they had not feared that they had come to take them captive, as others like them had done. They [the discoverers] assured them that they came as friends and showed such kindness that the natives finally believed in their friendship. They told the latter that the best safeguard against the harmful soldiers would be a cross which they gave them. This they received very eagerly, with much solemnity and merry-making dances. They were charged not to flee from other Christians while in possession of this symbol and badge as they would not harm them.

The people in the interior

They were asked about the towns and people farther on. They replied that toward the north were people who lived in large houses, who wore clothes and gathered quantities of corn, beans, and calabashes. These people were called *Allaguabas.* They carried on war with the neighboring Indians.

Pacification of new Indians; reception of the Christians

In order to gain the good will and friendship of the natives they [the explorers] decided to send the interpreter and messengers ahead. This was done to reassure them and let them know that they came to be good friends, to defend them against their enemies, and to restore peace among them. Due to this precaution and foresight they were well received, kindly treated, and respected.

A difficult journey

From this point the discoverers went on a day's journey over a ridge of mountains covered with underbrush and difficult to traverse. They suffered much hardship in unloading and reloading the pack horses which frequently fell on account of the undergrowth. They were fatigued and disheartened when they found themselves in such a bad passage. They were comforted in their toil by the messengers whom they had sent ahead. These reported that they would be well received by numerous Indians

with presents and such provisions as they had. After descending the mountains they marched down the river, where they halted.

Provisions of the Rayados

Large numbers of the *Rayada* people came to meet the explorers there.[351] They showed great respect and presented them with mesquite loaves, calabashes, corn, beans, prickly pears, and maguey, all of which they plant and gather. The leader and the friars received them with much kindness, regaled them with the articles of barter which they had brought, and promised firm friendship. They [the natives] were timid and apprehensive on account of the harm which the soldiers did who entered to harm them as they had maltreated those farther back. The party dispelled this fear, saying that they had been sent by their Great Lord to inform them that if they became Christians and erected a cross in their towns they would not be harmed thereafter by those who used to capture them. They rejoiced very much over this and believed what was told them.

Nature of the Rayados

The people living in this district, the *Rayados*, are brave, comely, handsome of countenance, noble, and well disposed. They use Turkish bows, clubs, and spears. They are weavers of cloth. They live in terraced houses made of logs and covered with mud. They go about naked. They are good hunters and fishers. The Holy Gospel was preached to them, to which they listened willingly and with pleasure.

News of new lands; report of valley and river of Concepción

They were asked for information in regard to the secrets and towns in the interior. They [the natives] replied that in their district and land were many people of the same language and customs and that there was a still greater number in the interior. They said that three leagues to the north on the side of the Conchas river by which the discoverers had come, were numerous people, and although it was out of their route they decided

[351]The Spaniards were now among the Jumanos near the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande.

to visit them. They said that the people living far away inhabited large houses; wore clothes; and had quantities of corn, beans, calabashes, cattle, and turkeys. They affirmed that these people spoke the Mexican language. All this comforted and heightened the spirits of the adventurers and they determined to go through the hardships at the risk of their lives. They did not doubt that they were guided and led by the divine will and power of God our Lord for the relief and conversion of such a large number of Indian souls that were being damned since they lacked the light of faith.

Distance between Concepción and San Gregorio rivers

From this locality and river to that of San Gregorio from which the discoverers set out are sixty leagues of solitary, dismal, and sterile lands covered with underbrush.[352] They are the worst and the most unproductive of all the lands traversed on their expedition to the discovery of San Felipe of New Mexico.

First fixed houses; reception of explorers

From this place where they had halted the party, led by the guides, started out the next day, crossing the land of which the *Rayados* had told them the day before. The latter took them to their beautiful settled valley, the best and most important river to be found on that route. They called it the valley of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción.[353] In that valley and along that river they found numerous people living in well established towns, where they received the explorers with much respect and friendliness and with presents of the same kind of provisions as the people farther back had given. They were regaled with gifts by the discoverers, who promised them the same friendship and good treatment as they had shown those whom they had already met. They halted in this valley in order to rest and to obtain information regarding the settlements farther inland.

The ruler of that land; the Concepción river

These people were better looking, more intrepid, and better

[352]See note 344.
[353]The Rio Grande. Obregón calls it by various names.

built than the others. They seemed to respect, serve, and obey a cacique in their towns. Wherever he went they accompanied him and provided him with a seat of tanned hide of the cattle found farther inland. These hides, which they obtain by trade, they possessed in quantities. They found over two thousand Indians along this river. To reach it they left the Conchas river on the right toward the southeast. It is the largest, widest, and finest river in those provinces. It has pleasing climates, valleys, and meadows suitable for the cultivation of all kinds of things.

The friars honored; worship of the sun

The explorers respected and honored the friars in order to set the example for the natives. In the presence of the latter they worshipped them and kissed their hands, and thus the natives imitated them. They told them [the Indians] that they had descended from heaven and that they were children of the sun. They believed all this and made many faces and signs toward the sky, a ceremony which they use to denote respect and acknowledgment of the sun, which they worship as their god.

Houses and granaries

These people live in log houses made of heavy paling plastered with mud. Near their houses they have their granaries like those of the Mexicans. They received the discoverers with much respect and rejoicing, most of the men and women standing on the terraces. They presented them with the provisions which they sow and gather. These are the same as found in other places.

Copper; a bell; news of coral

In this Valle de Concepción a day's journey from this place, they saw two Indians wearing a piece of copper and a little bell of the same metal about their necks. They were asked where they had obtained the copper and the little bell. They replied that they called that metal *payla*[354] and that it was brought from the west. They also saw three Indians wearing coral suspended

[354]The word is written *porba* by Gallegos. *The Gallegos Relation*, 19. Regarding bells among the Indians, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 141.

from their noses, but it was not of fine quality. They were asked where they had obtained it and they answered that it came from the South Sea.

Reports of towns

These people were asked for information concerning the secrets and towns of which they had known or heard. They said that thirteen days inland from their town were numerous organized people, who not only had large houses but wore clothes, gathered quantities of corn, cotton, calabashes, and beans, and ate numerous birds and cattle. They told how these people spin and weave. The discoverers rejoiced immensely at this news. In view of such good indications they credited this information fully, gained courage and hope of discovering good settlements. These natives affirmed that these people were warlike. They [the explorers] did not doubt the reliability of the reports they had already gathered from the other natives, that this was the settlement of the ancient Mexican Culguas. All this encouraged them and raised their spirits. They gave thanks to God our Lord for the favor He was showing them. These natives tried to frighten them, saying that they should not go any farther as they would be killed in the towns. This was not sufficient to make them relinquish their good purpose. On the contrary they were anxious to be in the danger and risk of which they had been told.

A three-span piece of iron

While they were at this place an Indian came to the camp with a piece of iron three and a half spans in length. It was shaped like the hoe with which the Mexicans till the soil. He was asked where he had obtained it and he answered that it came from the lands of which his companions had spoken.

A large number of Indians accompanied the discoverers for many days. Often those nearby came to see and serve them, joyfully and solemnly entertaining them with their customary dances; making strange motions with their hands and eyes heavenward and blowing toward the sky. They did all this because they believed them to be children of the sun. They pre-

sented them with quantities of provisions, feathers, deerskins, cowhides, and other things.

Information regarding Vaca's party; the friar and negro were the second discoverers

They were asked if they had seen or heard of people like them [the Christians]. They affirmed that many years before there had passed through their lands and towns four bearded men, resembling them in their ways, speech, and color. Through the descriptions and informations given and the book they carried,[355] it was inferred and taken for granted that these men must have been Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, who traveled among these people and crossed the river, but as they were lost they had not tried, so carefully and earnestly to learn about the unknown things and the towns of those provinces. For this reason the natives gave better information and reports to the discoverers. However the first account of these lands was obtained because those four wanderers had gone through them. To follow this up the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza sent forth Father Marcos de Niza and the negro Estevanico, who were the second explorers.

[355]Evidently someone in the Rodríguez party had brought along a copy of Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios*.

CHAPTER III

Picturing the valleys found by the discoverers as far as the first buildings; the journeys through uninhabited lands; and how they wished to return to the land of the Christians.

Traces of large rams

HE DISCOVERERS marched through these populated districts, very much pleased at the good treatment accorded them by the natives. This was the result of the miracles that God our Lord permitted Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions to perform. They had left the natives well disposed, and they received the explorers with the same respect, ceremonies, and presents as they had used when receiving the others. In this manner the party continued inland. They marched up the river[356] four days more until they reached and discovered a beautiful, fertile, and inviting valley with a ranchería and some abandoned houses. In them were numerous horns which resembled those of large rams different from those familiar to the Christians. Other horns have been seen in other places. The natives have told of these rams and they must be almost as large as those of Peru, according to what they indicated regarding their size and height. On account of this the discoverers called this region the Valle de los Carneros.[357]

Valley of La Laguna

From the locality of this ranchería the discoverers went up the river for six days. At the end of this time they came to another valley which they named the Valle de la Laguna.[358]

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[356]The Rio Grande.

[357]The party is now ascending the Rio Grande. Gallegos states that the Valle de los Carneros was twelve leagues from the Valle de Concepción. *The Gallegos Relation*, 21.

[358]Gallegos calls it Valle de la Madalena, and states that it was nine days from the Valle de los Carneros. *Ibid.* They were still among the Jumanos, but in the limits of their territory. Mecham locates the place about ten miles south of Fort Quitman on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande. Mecham, J. Lloyd "The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico," in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, I, 271.

Here they were met and led by large numbers of handsome, noble, and friendly people, who danced with merriment and presented them with bows, arrows, feathers, cowhides, and some of all the provisions they possessed. They gave these things with much joy and gladness, without being forced. Their celebration consisted of something which resembled negro dances which they performed at the beating of a sort of a leather container [jicara] sounding like the beating of a drum. When they finish their dances they make grimaces, keeping rhythm with the beating. They imitate the dance of the *matachines*.[359] They raise their hands toward the sun and in unison say in a singing tone: *ayo canimas*.[360] This is done by a thousand Indians without anyone getting out of tune. It is very pleasant due to the excellent harmony of the song, for it sounds as if only one were singing.

Reports of towns

They were asked for information in regard to the people and towns of their districts. They replied that five days up the river were large towns of clothed people who lived in large houses and had corn, cattle, and turkeys.[361] The discoverers were more encouraged as this substantiated what others had told them. When the natives were again asked for information they once more confirmed the good news.

Different native languages

They went on two days from this place, but at the end of these journeys they discovered and met people of different language and customs, better looking, more daring and dexterous than those left behind. The discoverers were received by them with much respect and happiness. They brought presents and offered all they had. However the interpreter did not understand them, and it was necessary to communicate with them through signs. They asked them concerning the settlements of which they had been told and were in search of and what profitable things might be found in them. They replied by signs that seven days from their towns were the settlements and other

[359]The idea is that the dance was performed by figures like jesters.
[360]It reads *ayia canima* in the Gallegos document.
[361]The term is *native birds*, translated literally; it means turkeys.

things concerning which they had inquired. They [the Christians] told them that the people farther back had said that the settlements were only five days from their town. They contradicted this by signs, and affirmed that those people had not stated the truth and did not know it as well as themselves who had seen those towns many times. They complained of the damage inflicted upon them by those people who were warlike. They made it clear through signs that they must travel three days without meeting any people and that at the end of that time they would meet people who ate corn, calabashes, and beans and who wore clothes.

Valleys of Cienegas and Valientes

They took leave of these people and marched up the river for three days. They found a valley with many swamps. It was about six leagues in extent and suitable for the cultivation of all sorts of grains. There were mosquitoes here. They named it the Valle de los Valientes.[362] It was uninhabited by Indians.

Doubt regarding settlements

From this place the discoverers continued for eight days up the river over deserted and desolate hills and mountains. At the end of the eight days they became doubtful, fearing that they were being led astray and deceived by the information they had gathered. They considered the whole thing a fraud and the majority were determined to turn back. As they were guided by God our Lord they went on two days farther. Not finding any trace of Indians they decided to return because the Indians had lied to them in regard to the distance from their lands to the settlements and also because their supplies were being exhausted and they and their horses fatigued. They had marched through seventy leagues of uninhabited land since leaving the Indians. They were sad and disappointed at the realization of the fact that their labor and the hope they had nourished were in vain.

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[362]This swampy land begins at Guadalupe and extends up the west side of the river to the neighborhood of El Paso. It was sixty leagues from the junction of the rivers. Mecham, "The Second Spanish Expedition," *op. cit.*, 272.

In respect to returning

They decided to make a side trip to follow up the trace of a human path which they had found the day before. From the information obtained they could then come to a decision in regard to returning. On this trip were Father Juan de Santa María, Pedro de Bustamante, Hernando Gallegos, Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida, and Pedro Sánchez de Chaves. They marched over twelve leagues[363] across a plain and then came to a mountain. They saw an Indian near the entrance to this mountain and shortly afterward large numbers of people. As they launched forth after them with their arms and horses the Indians fled up the mountain. They [the Christians] followed at full speed but were stopped by a heavy shower. Consequently they failed to secure a guide who could give them reliable information.

A guide secured

After this event they returned to the camp. It happened that Father Agustín forgot his prayer book a day's journey back and he begged Juan Sánchez to return to the camping place of the day before to look for it. The friar thought he had left it on the bank of the river. The said Juan Sánchez went to the place indicated by the friar and found the prayer book. On the way back he met two Indians. He rushed after them and captured the one whom he brought to the camp. He was about forty years of age. This succor and comfort was sent by the hand of God our Lord, for if He had not provided this relief they would have turned back. This is clear proof which no one should doubt that He chose them as the discoverers and the first ones to bring the Holy Gospel to the natives of those regions. This help was sent so that they should not lose heart or abandon the expedition which was so important for His service and for the good of the natives.

The captured Indian affirmed and certified the good news which the natives farther back had given without differing in anything. He said that they would reach the settlements they

[363]Gallegos says two leagues. *The Gallegos Relation*, 23.

were looking for the next day. This colloquy was carried on by signs, their only means of communication.

They gave infinite thanks to God our Lord for all this, for having aided and comforted them in the moments of greatest sorrow, hardship, need, and disappointment.

CHAPTER IV

Dealing with the discovery of the province of San Felipe of New Mexico and the first settlement of large houses in the northern region.

Labor a means of rest

EXPERIENCE has shown that all things of great esteem price, and value are acquired and maintained with hard ship and at the risk of the lives of those who try to ob tain them. It is likewise difficult to convince people of them This is what happened to these brave adventurers who, althoug assured of the existence of the settlements which they sought t discover, were almost incredulous in regard thereto. When the discovered and visited them it was after great persistence an hardship, and at the risk of their lives. The same would happe to those who might try to imitate them. One should not fea death or try to avoid privations, because good deeds achieve through such difficulties merit glory and reward, which were deserved by the discoverers of these towns, so unknown, remote and concealed from Christians.

Trace of a town in ruins

After questioning the guide the explorers set out the nex day. Led by him they continued until they came upon an an cient abandoned town in ruins. The houses seemed to have bee three stories high with terraces and walls. Here they halte for the night and rested during the day which was Sunday.

Guide sent to calm the people

They again examined and questioned the Indian guide, wh insisted that the settled region and the towns were very near, an that upon marching three hours[364] the next day they would se and enter them. He said that he wished to go ahead to tel of their coming and to call on the inhabitants of the first tow that they might come out to receive and to present them wit

[364]Gallegos says two leagues. *Ibid.*, 24.

provisions. By the wish and agreement of all he was sent ahead to reassure and reduce the inhabitants of the town to peace that they would not be disturbed at the sight of strange people. Upon this decision the guide left.

Precautions; the first town; the discoverers detected; the first natives seen

On the following day the discoverers got ready their arms and horses. They commended themselves to God our Lord and set out with order and military precaution. After marching two leagues they saw the first town.[365] From afar it seemed very good because it was composed of high and well arranged houses with three terraces and corridors. They entered this town very cautiously, fearful of the harm that might come to them at the hands of the natives. They found it abandoned by its owners. They had fled from their homes the night before from fear of the discoverers who had been heard and seen the day before by some Indian hunters who were not noticed by the discoverers. They found in the houses of this first town large quantities of corn, cotton, turkeys, cloth, and ornaments. Of all this, nothing was touched. That was necessary in order that the natives might know that they were not people who caused harm and so might acquire a good reputation. While they were searching the houses for people to talk with they found a sick Indian with food by the side of his head. He was so near the end of life that he was unable to give any account of himself and could not flee, for if he had been able he would also have done so.

Camp pitched

When the discoverers saw the absence of the inhabitants from the houses of the town they decided to halt and fix their camp in the open a league from the town, away from the fields where the servants and horses could not cause any damage. They wanted a place suitable for the defense of their persons and lives.

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[365]Mecham holds that this town called San Felipe was two leagues below Trenaquel, near Fort Craig. "The Second Spanish Expedition," *op. cit.*, 272, 273. Cf. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I, 274, 275, for a slightly different view.

Natives pacified; their reception; the Gospel preached

After doing this the leader and the friars tried to devise means to reassure and peacefully attract the absent natives. When the latter found everything in their houses as they had left it, without anything missing, they felt certain that these people did no harm. For this reason they decided to go, a few at the time, to see and visit the discoverers in their quarters. They did so, and were well received, calmed and regaled by them, who promised them good treatment, friendship, and gifts of the goods they carried. The natives lost all fear. In a short time numerous Indians came to see, meet, and present them with quantities of provisions, blankets, and other things. They were all accorded a good reception and given the gifts possible. For this reason the natives loved, respected, and feared them. The friars preached the Holy Gospel to them by signs and they received it with good countenance. Likewise they were offered assistance against their enemies with whom they carry on war. This pleased them.

Number of towns; in the first settled area

In the days that followed over two thousand Indians came to their quarters. They were bewildered, and marveled at the sight of people unlike themselves, at the horses and other things which the discoverers had, but which they did not have and had never seen or used. They asked the leaders and old men for information in regard to the secrets and settlements of their lands and surroundings. These declared that in the district of their land and nation were twelve towns, and that the last inhabited portion of their territory bordered on numerous settlements larger and better than those of their lands.[366] They said that the people of those places were their enemies and waged war on them. All of these towns and most of the people are congregated up the river as one enters the province.

Naming of the Guadalquivir; native plantations

The discoverers marched up the river, visiting and exploring the towns toward the sides of the province in order to give an

[366]The nation of the twelve towns was the Piros, and the "larger and better" settlements, the Tiguas.

account of them. As the river was so wide and carried so much water, they called it the river Guadalquivir.[367] It is large, swift, and beautiful, surrounded by numerous meadows and farms, most of them of corn, beans, calabashes, cotton, and *piciete*, a medicinal herb very useful for curing many ailments.

Clothed people; good houses; goods

This first town and district where this language is spoken is inhabited by very orderly people. Both men and women are clothed, largely with cotton cloth, fine, well tanned deerskins, and cowhides. They wear shoes and some have caps of tanned leather. They live in houses of adobe-walls; some are of stone. The houses are well built. They are square, whitewashed, and painted in many colors with pictures and very showy figures. They are whitened and have their windows, corridors, and embrasures. Their towns have streets, squares, and walls. They have pottery more beautiful and useful than that used by the Mexicans. It is of better quality and finer. They work it into kettles, large jars, pans, and other small containers for all sorts of uses.[368]

Another settled region; Christians met by sign of the cross

From the people of this first town and district the discoverers went on to see and visit another larger and better town.[369] It had four terraces and was in another district where a different language was spoken. They wore the same kind of clothes and had the same customs. However their houses were better built and had better paintings, colors, and designs. They received the discoverers like the first, especially by making the sign of the cross. They went on exploring this district for four days, passing through numerous towns, large and small. In one day they visited twelve towns whose people used the same language and had similar clothes, houses, and customs.

Another Indian language; customs of the natives; sun worship

After visiting this district and its people they came to a dif-

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[367]It was the Rio Grande.

[368]The description is of the Piros. For an account of the making of pottery among the Indians, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 295-299.

[369]The Spaniards were now entering the lands of the Tiguas.

ferent region where they rested for two days.[370] They were informed of the oldest settlements in the interior. They were told of numerous people and towns located up the river along its banks and the nearby areas. All these Indian nations in the high houses are skilful, friendly, neat, and industrious in their fields as well as in the decoration and cleanliness of their houses. They are not so comely as the primitive naked vaqueros. They are bellicose and feared by the other districts, especially because of their towns, for they use the houses as fortresses. They have numerous fowls in their yards. They breed many dogs, though not as fine or useful as those of Spain, keeping them in their pens underground.[371] These Indians are skilful with bow and arrow and with the club. They worship the sun.

Another district with better towns

From this district and people the discoverers went to see and visit another.[372] They came to a large town up the river. They [the natives] received them, making crosses with their hands as a sign of peace. They brought quantities of provisions, all of which the discoverers accepted in order that the natives would be pleased and spread the news that they were being received with presents. That is how this custom was established. In this region are larger and better constructed towns. The houses are of finer appearance, higher, and more elegant than those in the pueblos previously found. They travelled up this river and visited most of the towns. It is the most densely settled, although there are better pueblos away from the river.

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[370]The party was now visiting the Queres towns.
[371]See below, ch. VI, for the use of dogs among the Indians.
[372]They explored the Tewa towns and went as far north as Taos.

CHAPTER V

Which describes the customs of the natives of the provinces of San Felipe of New Mexico, their ritualism, ceremonies and idolatry.

These Indians better than others

FROM WHAT has been seen and experienced by explorers and adventurers in these provinces it has been proved that these people are the most civilized in all the known regions of the Indies. They are the most advanced in regard to clothing, the nature of their settlements, houses, provisions, and way of living, as I shall prove by the following:

Method of building houses

First, because the common and ordinary houses of the natives of the kingdoms of Mexico, Peru, and all the others are from one and a half to two *estados* high; and made of adobe, pales, matting, reeds, and straw, and situated along narrow alleys. On the other hand the houses of the natives in the provinces of New Mexico and its vicinity are built in the following manner. They bake the dirt to make the adobe-walls. They build the houses square. They insert heavy pine and willow logs ten to twelve feet long in the walls. They build the foundations of stone and heavy wooden pillars. They provide them with windows and corridors which open into the streets, squares, and the country. These houses have walls and loopholes from which they defend themselves and attack their enemies in their battles. They tile their patios with large stones. They leave wide streets and large squares around which they build the towns. The stairs to their houses can be raised because they fear the damage inflicted by their enemies with whom they wage war. Before going to sleep they take up these ladders to the upper parts of their houses.[373]

[373]The pueblos were constructed without doors on the first floor. The natives used ladders, and then entered their rooms from the roof.

Better clothed than Mexicans; dress of the new people

They dress with greater neatness and elegance than the Mexcans and others of the past. The majority of the common people went about almost naked, with only a blanket thrown over their shoulders and body and a piece of cloth, called *mastli*[374] in their language, tied around the waist. Their arms and legs were bare. The footgear did not cover the ankle. On the other hand the people of New Mexico wear tight cotton shirts, with bright stripes of colored thread woven around the edges, and at the throat a bow, a gem, and a band. Beside this they wear some blankets. They wrap themselves with handsomely worked pieces of cloth three *varas*[375] long and two wide which have colored tassels at the ends. They cut their hair so as to leave it of even length and arranged on top of their heads as if it grew naturally in that way. They look as though they were wearing small Milan-cloth caps. Others use pointed leather caps. Their shoes are of cowhide. Some dress in well tanned deerskins. Some wear their hair long.

Dress of the women

The women wear a skirt from the waist down, in our language called petticoat, which is finely worked and painted in many colors. Over these skirts they wear a blanket of the same style and kind as used by the men. They grow, comb, and bleach their hair like the Spanish. They braid it above their heads like the women of Castile.

Method of acquiring goods

They are a cleanly people, kind, well disposed, and industrious. Ordinarily both men and women busy themselves in the fields and houses, in spinning cloth and in other necessary occupations. The women employ their time in making blankets for clothing, in painting, and in preparing the food; and the men in other necessary duties.

Pottery superior to the Mexicans; method of grinding corn

They use better pottery and vessels than the Mexicans and

[374]Cuevas has *mastle*. Cuevas, *Obregón*, 263.
[375]The *vara* measures about thirty-three inches.

other native Indians. It is superior in construction, coloring, and serviceableness. They have large earthen jars with covers in which they keep the drinking water. They are cleaner and more painstaking in grinding the corn than the others. They use stones placed on a clean spot and reserved for this purpose. The women and their daughters do this with much cleanliness.

Protection of girls; early marriage

They protect and shield the young girls from being harmed by the men. They never leave the house without permission or accompanied by old Indian women. They marry early, at eleven or twelve years of age. These people do not recognize more than one wife. They affirm that while the wife is living the men do not know or have relations with any other and that they are faithful to the wife.

Better baths than in Mexico

The women spin, weave, paint, and work the clay like the men. They have finer, larger, better, and more useful baths than the Mexicans. They are built in caves underground, are twenty feet long, and circular. They cover the bottom with mortar of clay and plaster. They are about twelve *estados* deep.[376] To fortify these baths they use heavy supports, covering the upper part with mortar, leaving only a trap door like that of a ship through which they enter and leave by means of a movable ladder. This bath is used by the entire community, and therefore is built in the center of the town.[377]

Languages easily spoken; worship and idolatry

Their languages are easily spoken and the natives are docile and ready to be converted to our holy Catholic faith, as has been demonstrated. They regard the sun as their god, which they serve, respect, and worship. The ceremonies that were seen and which indicate the nature of their idolatry were as follows. When the sun rises they rejoice and make signs and faces toward the place where it appears, with much dancing, music, and singing. They repeat this ceremony when the sun sets. They do

[376]This seems incredible, but so the manuscript reads.

[377]This is the kiva, or estufa, the ceremonial chamber. The Spaniards did not understand its purpose and so supplied an explanation.

this on certain days which are set aside for the purpose. They also have some underground chambers like cellars where they customarily place many fine offerings of clothing, feathers, ornaments, food, and things used for painting. They do all these things that their idol will grant them health, success in war, and good weather. They repeat these ceremonies every fifteen days between the months of December and March.

A stick two fingers in thickness

These celebrations are common, being open to all. They dance and sing from morning till night and from night till morning. They place an Indian in the middle of the gathering, on a seat which they utilize for this purpose.[378] Six Indians, holding twenty sticks, are also seated. They come out and dance about. At each change one steps out and puts in his mouth seven sticks a *vara* in length and as thick as two fingers. When he has finished placing them he steps out and dances with the sticks in his month. Then each of the seven who are sitting next to the one seated in the special place give him seven lashes with willows. Then they dance again and repeat the lashes until they make the blood run profusely down his back. The one who is being flayed shows no pain.

Devil in form of snake talks to them

While they are striking him they talk to a large snake about a *vara* and a half in length and as thick as an arm. The snake creeps around the one who is being lashed and around those who are dancing. When it wants to speak it rolls up. The one being whipped calls to it and it answers in the language of the Indians. This is a strange case, although I have my doubts about it because I have not received conclusive proofs. I mention it because it formed part of the accounts given to me. And it may be true, for the stone idols used to speak to the Mexicans. This account was given by Hernando Gallego, notary of the party. I do not doubt that it was the devil who took the form of the snake in order to speak to them.

[378]This is probably the first description of the snake dance on record.

Two snakes; how carried; their transformation

He also says that two other Indians dance around among these Indians, carrying in their hands two vipers that coil themselves around their necks and creep all over their bodies. These Indians come dancing to the place where the lashed one is seated, whom they respect and obey as their lord. On that occasion they offer him on their knees the two vipers. He takes them and each one creeps up one of his arms, making a great deal of noise. When they reach his neck he rises from the place where he is seated. He talks to them and they leap and roll up on the ground. Then those who offered them take them and, kneeling, talk to them and put them in their mouths. Soon there appear two jackals that walk around among them and talk. This is marvelous if it is true, which I doubt, and I am including it for the reasons previously stated.

When they finish their dance and celebration they cane the man who has been lashed and carry him along, adorned with numerous brilliant feathers, to exhibit him at the roads and fountains between the different towns. The man remains so bruised and lacerated from the beating that he does not recover from the wounds and bruises for two months. These men are honored and respected as forbearing and brave men.

Graves; cremation of the dead

They have the graves in the cellars. The dead bodies wrapped in some blankets with provisions are burned. The ashes and bones that have not burned out completely are offered to their idol by two Indian women or men selected for this purpose.

Wedding ceremonies

They marry with great solemnity, rejoicing, gatherings, and feasts. They invite the entire town and the relatives on both sides. They select and invite godparents who instruct them in what they should do in order to be properly wedded. Both parties are given dowries which consist of lands, houses, clothing, furniture, and adornments for their needs and for the decoration of their houses. They celebrate their weddings with much dancing, banquets, games, and other kinds of amusement. The

bride and groom are accompanied to their house with much noise. Their relatives and godparents go with them.

Permanence of the union; oath taken at their marriage

When they reach the house they are given a long speech to which all listen in great silence. This advice is begun by the godmother who tells them the duties and obligations of matrimony. On being married these conditions are accepted. They give the bride a milling stone or earthenware pan, matting, and utensils for weaving. After having danced and sung like the Mexicans the godmother tells the bride with great solemnity that she must support her husband, who is present with those materials, providing him with two meals a day. By means of the weaving equipment she must spin and weave the clothing he would need, and with the crockery before her prepare the necessary food and beverages. With the cotton blankets, turkey feathers, and matting she must provide for his sleep and for the cure of his ailments. They give the groom to the bride and tell her to take him, to love, entertain, serve, be faithful to him, and not betray him. The bride replies under oath that she takes and accepts him, invoking the rigor of the idols that she will keep and fulfill her sworn statement. The oath is ministered by one of those who serve in the house of idolatry and by the godparents. When these ceremonies and speeches are over they dance once more to the sound of the grinding on the stone where they pound their food. They do this with pleasant singing and music.

Advice of the godfather

When this part is finished the godfather makes the same charge to the groom. He admonishes him to treat the bride well. They give the groom a bow, some arrows, a club, a hoe, and a crate to help him carry his burdens. He is given the bride, and the godfather tells him to love and serve her, to treat her well and to defend her from the enemy with the weapons given him. By means of the hoe he must provide her with the necessary food and clothing. The crate is for carrying their goods and what they might acquire. He must not permit her to bear burdens.

The groom accepts the conditions and takes the previously mentioned solemn oaths and agrees not to break them. Then they dance and sing again. An old man repeats the conditions once more and the bride and groom accept them anew.

Monogamy

It is known with certainty that the natives of those provinces have only one wife and that they live a more modest and moral life than the Mexicans and other Indian nations.

CHAPTER VI

Giving an account of the mines; the riches of silver and other things in the provinces of San Felipe of New Mexico; and the parts frequented by the cattle.

Three and four story houses; provisions

I HAVE inquired, learned, and verified as certain that Francisco Vázquez Coronado, Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, Antonio de Espejo and those who accompanied them were the discoverers of these provinces of San Felipe of New Mexico, Tibuex, Ciquil,[379] Tuzayán, Cíboro, and the others near them. These lands are populated by numerous people due to the fact that the houses are from two to three and even six stories high.

Blankets; salines; mats; pottery; Castile flax and linen

The natives gather quantities of corn, beans, calabashes, cotton, and *piciete*, a very useful herb. They make large numbers of blankets, both heavy and light, beautifully woven and dyed with various bright colors. They possess numerous turkeys. They utilize the feathers, interweaving them in heavy cotton blankets. They have quantities of salines of rich salt. There are salt deposits that extend over five leagues. They have large numbers of mats made of rushes and reeds, and large and small baskets. They possess good crockery, both heavy and fine, brilliantly decorated with admirable colors. They grow Castile flax without cultivation. It flourishes naturally at Cieneguilla and the Valle de los Valientes.[380] Consequently they make Castile cloth.

Number of cattle; wool used for cloth; nature of the land

Thirty or forty leagues away are numerous cattle which they utilize; the meat for food and the hides for many purposes like

[379] Cuevas has *Aqui* for Ciquil, typical of his many errors.

[380] Valle de los Valientes is one of the names applied to the Rio Grande. This particular place was the swampy region south of El Paso.

the hides of the cattle of Spain. They use their wool for clothing, the fat for candles and other things. The hides are good for making shoes and weapons when very well tanned. These provinces and towns mentioned have a fine climate, numerous plains, valleys, mountains, rivers, streams, lakes, springs, and river banks, suitable for the cultivation of any kind of grain from Spain and for raising all sorts of cattle.

Indication of metals; explorers who found silver

There are many sierras on its confines where I saw and examined rich metals when I was on the expedition with General Francisco de Ibarra. In the ridges of these mountains and near the settlements are the mines discovered and inspected by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and his companions. The first mines were discovered thirty leagues before they reached the province of San Felipe, in the valley of San Lorenzo in a ridge of the sierra. No claims were staked out, nor was it known there that other mines existed in the valley of Nuestra Señora,[381] twelve leagues before the first town of San Felipe. No mining was undertaken nor were the metals assayed. There was another vein in the Virgin mountains, thirteen leagues down the river before entering the province. The explorers staked out claims but no assay was made. Another was found in the province of San Felipe, a league from the town which they call Mal Partida.[382] The discoverers staked out claims and assayed the metal in order to settle the place. There was another vein which they called Santa Catalina,[383] five leagues from a town which they named Mal Partida. I have been informed that this is the best of those discovered.

Decision of the explorers

After visiting, exploring, and examining the towns, the advantages and profits that could be derived from the exploitation of mines, cattle, salt deposits, and other things in the province

[381]This must have been the Fray Cristóbal Range.

[382]These mines were in the vicinity of Cerrillos. Cf. Bandelier, Adolph F. A. *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, carried on mainly in the Years from 1880-1885*, II, 93, 94. Malpartida was in the Galisteo valley, perhaps identical with San Marcos, near Cerrillos.

[383]This was in the Manzano mountains, southwest of Malpartida.

of San Felipe of New Mexico and its surroundings, the discoverers decided to visit the natives called Querechos. They follow the cattle and go about like the gypsies in Spain. They wander around and live in the regions frequented by the cattle. The natives had already given them accounts of these people.

Departure for the cattle; the vaqueros

They set out from the river Guadalquivir and the town of Mal Partida in the province of San Felipe on September 28, 1581. They went to learn of the customs of the gypsy-like Indians and of the cattle, their number, appearance, habitat, and the gain that could be derived from them. The first day they marched more than six leagues over plains with good and plentiful pastures for cattle raising. There the discoverers gathered that the information given them concerning the cattle was true. From that place on they began to find old cattle tracks. During this day's march and through the night they went without water. They feared that the horses would suffer.

A large mountain; no water for eleven leagues

The next day they marched over a large and beautiful mountain containing groves of numerous big pine, oak, and cypress trees.[384] It seems the discoverers affirm it is the largest mountain they have seen in the Indies. After going five leagues farther they came to a large gorge where they found a large pool of rain water. Here they quenched the great thirst which they had endured for eleven leagues. They halted for the night at this pool. The next day they marched seven leagues past a large mountain and through plains until night came. They were without water. They feared getting lost as they had no guide or water. They were afraid of missing the cattle as they had marched three days and the natives had assured them that they would meet the vaquero Indians and the cattle in two days.[385] Like good soldiers they continued the expedition.

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[384]The description is characteristic of the Pecos mountains.

[385]According to Mecham the party had skirted the northern edge of the table-land between Galisteo and the Pecos river, but since they were looking for a pass through the mountains, they remained in the plains country and did not cross the hills separating them from the Pecos. *Ibid.*, 283, 284.

Pool of salt water

The next day after marching a league they came to a pool of salt water located in a glen at the edge of a plain. At this pool they satisfied their need of water and halted the next day to rest. They left that place, marching along this valley where they found many pools of briny water. They named this place the Valle de San Miguel because they reached it on his day. This valley is excellent and suitable for raising sheep.

A waterhole; River Santo Domingo

From this place they marched down the valley five leagues, where at its edge they discovered a large water hole. They halted here for the night. Around it were many indications of people who had left the place the day before. They found more tracks of the cattle which increased their hopes and assured them of the information given them. They continued on the following day and after going about a league came to a large and beautiful river adorned with numerous fine trees. They named it the river Santo Domingo.[386] It is a river of brackish water suitable for cattle.

Meeting the vaqueros

From this place they marched four leagues down the river. At the end of this distance they saw a column of smoke and marched toward it, discovering a ranchería of vaquero Indians having over five hundred huts and tents of tanned cowhide almost like those of Castile. The vaquero Indians were so disturbed that in a short time four hundred handsome and brave warriors equipped with bows and arrows came out to meet them ready for battle. When they were quite near they decided to question the discoverers, which they did, where they were going, and what they wanted in their lands. This was done by signs because they had no guide or interpreter. They [the Christians] replied in the same manner that they came to visit them and to offer firm friendship.

The vaqueros offered peace; friendship established

The discoverers also prepared for war, taking precautions

[386]This was the Pecos.

against the harm the Indians might cause them. They withdrew to their camp until they could see what the natives would do and to see if they could attract them in a friendly manner. Thus they did not show any weakness. If they would not come peacefully they were determined to subdue them by force of arms. They made the sign of the cross from a distance with their hands as a sign of peace and friendship. Father Agustín Rodríguez dismounted to entreat them to accept peace, carrying a cross in his hands. God our Lord was pleased with these precautions, for He infused fear in them at the sight of the discoverers and caused them to submit peacefully. They imitated the Christians in making the same sign of the cross with their hands. They were received by the leader and by Father Agustín, who let them kiss the crucifix which he wore about his neck. He let them know through signs that they came in the name of their Lord who lives in heaven and whose messengers he and the discoverers were, and that they had come to see them and to be their good friends. They believed all this and were so pleased that they received the explorers with much love and respect and offered them what they had and used for food. It was necessary to employ these methods and speak in this manner in order to make them accept peace since the Christians were few in number. After all with them any artifice is better than the rigor of war.

Frightened by harquebus shot

The discoverers answering their call halted near their camp as requested. The natives were astounded to see people different from their own kind. While marveling over this fact an harquebus was discharged. The explosion dumfounded, frightened, and stupefied them. The majority fell to the ground with fear. God our Lord permitted all this in order to instill greater fear in them. They were so terrified that not even united did they dare approach a lone horse. They asked them not to fire the harquebuses as it frightened them and their wives and children and stunned their senses.

News of the cattle from vaqueros

They were asked where the Indians of their nation lived and

questioned about their customs and about the cattle. They replied that they regularly roamed over the greater part of the plains and along the rivers, lakes, and salt water holes. When it was cold or snowed they sought shelter in the extensions and slopes of the sierra. They said that the beginning of their inhabited area is two days from where they found them.

Number of cattle exaggerated

As for the cattle they existed in large numbers. To stress the number they said that they were as numerous as the grass in the fields, and as the sand in the rivers, and that they roam over extensive lands. No Indian dared to accompany the discoverers. The latter inferred that they were lost, having abandoned the direct route which they should have followed to reach them without circling about. They had been lost.

Dress and customs of vaqueros; like gypsies; their tents

These people who live among the cattle go about naked. They merely use some coverings of deer and cattle skins. They wear shoes and caps made from the same materials. They are well formed, lively, warlike, and brave, and feared by those in the neighboring districts. They are like gypsies, wandering about from place to place, following the natural sources of their food supply. This consists of the raw meat of the cattle, the prickly pears and dates which they gather. They have tents made of tanned cowhides, which are provided with the necessary fixtures of poles and willow stakes.

Droves of dogs; loads carried

They have droves of dogs on which they load their tents, the contents of their huts, household goods, and provisions. These dogs can bear a load of two or three *arrobas*. They are equipped with leather harness, poitrels, girths, and headstalls by means of which they are guided. They travel two or three leagues a day with a load. The dogs are strong, shaggy, and not very large.

No water for forty hours; San Francisco valley

From this first ranchería of vaquero Indians the discoverers marched over some plains. They left the river Santo Domingo

on one side. On this day's march they found no water in the four leagues traversed. Nor did they see any cattle. They thought they were lost. The leader decided to return to the ranchería. Before reaching it Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida and Pedro Sánchez de Chaves armed and prepared themselves for battle and went on with Father Agustín Rodríguez. They seized and brought to the camp an Indian who guided them for three days. They went without water during this time when they came to some small water holes where they quenched their thirst and rested from the fatigue they had endured. They opened these pools with spades and enough water to supply á large army flowed from them. They named them the Ojos Zarcos. Here they found fresh tracks of the cattle and felt certain that they were near. They rested at these holes a day because their horses were worn out. They had been without a drop of water for forty hours. If the lack of water had continued for another day both men and horses would have perished of thirst. At this place the guide said that the cattle were a day's march away. Next day, October 9, 1581, they negotiated this distance and stopped at some salt water lakes. They found numerous pools of water in a dale which runs from the lakes to the east. They called it the valley of San Francisco because they discovered it on St. Francis day.[387]

Description of the cattle

During this day they found large numbers of cattle. They came in herds of five hundred, cows, calves, and bulls. The latter are large and hideous. They have a strange and ferocious head, larger than the bulls of Spain. These cattle are hairless and humpbacked. They have heavy black horns and long beards which drag on the ground when they are grazing. They run like boars and are very swift. They have over forty *arrobas* of meat. The cows are one-third smaller than the bulls and their horns measure a span. The meat of these animals is fatter, healthier, and more delicious than the meat of the cattle of Spain. The discoverers killed numbers of them for food one day when they saw over three thousand. They are woolly and

[387]They were evidently on some branch of the Canadian.

the wool can be used for making clothing and other articles; their hides can be utilized for shoes and many other things.

Explorers return; distance to the cattle from San Felipe

The discoverers were told of the river which flows through the plains[388] and that on its banks were unusually large numbers of cattle. As their provisions were running low they did not dare to go to find them. On October 19, 1581, they returned from this valley of San Francisco by stages to the town from which they had set out. The distance to the beginning of the regions frequented by the cattle is forty leagues. If a direct road is taken it is much less. For this reason and because of the scarcity of water a guide must be secured. If the discoverers had followed the advice of the natives they would have come to the cattle after two days of marching. Thus it seems that they are to be found twenty leagues from the nearest point of the inhabited parts of the San Felipe river.

The explorers sent the Indian guide ahead loaded with meat. He was much pleased to have seen the ease with which they had killed the cattle. It happened that they did not miss a single shot. He told of all this at the ranchería, whose inhabitants came forth to receive and entertain them. They begged the discoverers to return as they wished to take them to a place teeming with cattle. They consoled them with the promise that they would come back to carry out their wishes. They gave the natives part of the meat which they had brought, and the latter said they would wait for them. They took leave of these people and went on very cautiously, fearing that the natives might try to avenge the seizure of the guide who belonged to their town. After these incidents they returned to the province of San Felipe of New Mexico.

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[388]The Canadian.

CHAPTER VII

Setting forth the methods which the discoverers used in dealing with the natives in obtaining provisions without offending them; and how they tried to kill the former.

Method of obtaining provisions

AFTER the discoverers returned from the regions of the cattle they established their camp in the town which they called Piedra Ita.[389] It has about three hundred houses.[390] Here their provisions began to grow scarce, and all spoke to the leader, indicating that these should be obtained by requesting them from the natives without arousing the latter to harm or to take up arms. All reminded him of their needs, and of the inconveniences and dangers they would have to surmount in order to avoid danger, injury, and the shedding of blood. In consequence the leader, friars, and soldiers entered into an agreement in a council of war. They decided that provisions should be asked for in a friendly manner in order that order and good customs might be established and that they would be enabled to instruct the natives throughout the province.

They [the discoverers] undertook to ask for supplies with friendship, kindness, and harmony. As they previously had the necessary supplies and had not asked for anything this demand was novel and they [the natives] acted as if they did not hear or understand. It was surprising that there was an agreement among all those in the province to kill them as was ascertained later. Once more they stated their needs in a friendly and kindly spirit, and again they failed to heed the request, acting as if they were deaf and did not understand what was said.

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[389]Bolton calls it *Piedra y Taques*, an error for *Piedra Ita que es . . . . Spanish Exploration*, 148 note 2. It is called Piedra Alta by Gallegos. It was San Cristóbal, the easternmost of the pueblos in the Galisteo basin. Cf. Bandelier's description of San Cristóbal, *Final Report*, II, 103-105.

[390]Gallegos adds that the houses were of three and four stories, made entirely of stone. *The Gallegos Relation*, 50.

Reply of the leader and the friars

The leader and the friars were informed of all this. They told the discoverers that it was not right to take the provisions by force, nor was it advisable to do so as they could not exert much pressure to compel them to give the supplies. They were too few to defend themselves against the damage that might be inflicted upon them in revenge for taking the provisions by force. Over thirty thousand Indians could be called and assembled in an hour. It would be precarious to place themselves in such danger when they could use more moderate and suitable means. The soldiers importuned the leader to use his commission, saying that they would rather die fighting than starve to death. He replied that they could employ whatever means seemed best if they tried to avoid a greater harm.

Desire to use force

The discoverers believed that it was most feasible to use threats and the force of arms. To this effect the leader and seven soldiers armed themselves and got ready for battle. They went to the strong town which is five or six stories high.[391] They found that the people had retired to the terraces and corridors of their houses. They were armed and suspicious of the discoverers. The latter asked for the provisions, threatening harsh treatment and punishment if they refused. To these entreaties they were still more indifferent and disinclined to obey. Seeing the fearlessness and disregard of the natives they fired some harquebuses, aiming at those who were in retreat. This was done to frighten them and to compel obedience through terror of the guns. As they failed to comply they [the soldiers] decided to request the provisions from house to house, asking for a little at each place.

Provisions given willingly

Overcome by the fear of the harquebuses, their noise and danger, they said that the harquebuses were rays from heaven which the sun had given them for their protection as its immortal children. Believing these things they decided to give the

[391]According to Gallegos from whom Obregón gets his information these events took place at Piedra Ita.

provisions voluntarily in accordance with the method and amount suggested by the discoverers. Following this good plan each Indian offered to relieve their need of corn. They were asked for flour, which they brought in quantities from all the houses. After all had contributed they asked for an alliance, for peace and friendship. This they promised one another, although the discoverers were cautious and prepared to defend themselves. It was clear that the fear of the harquebuses caused them to give provisions and promise friendship.

The method used in supplying the needs of the discoverers was made known from this pueblo, and for this reason it was followed in the other towns perhaps because each gave only a little. Accordingly they did this before it was requested, and before the party could reach their town they had gathered the supplies. They also gave fowls and other things in quantities. This method of giving tribute was generally followed. They gathered it in three large piles, one containing corn in grain, another flour, and the other tortillas. From these piles they took only what they honestly needed; the rest was returned. This pleased them [the natives] very much. Calls were received from many towns to come and get tribute in this manner and the town not visited was considered unfortunate and unhappy. They did all this out of fear, so it seemed, because of the harm which they proposed to do.

An opportunity came later to carry out their plans. This was brought about by the selfishness of Father Juan de Santa María who, having seen the service which those few explorers had rendered to your majesty in having discovered such important settlements, wished to be the first to carry the news to the Christian lands. He was opposed in this by the arguments, the obvious difficulties, and the entreaties of the leader, soldiers, and guardian. The latter pointed out that it was a dangerous undertaking to go alone through enemy lands, that they would kill him, and that he would endanger the lives of all since they must try to avenge his death. Moreover they had not explored the whole land nor completely learned all its secrets and sources of profit so that a true account could be given your majesty with-

out being accused of negligence. All of these reasons were of no avail and he insisted on going.[392]

Death of the first friar; feigning ignorance thereof

His departure was very unfortunate for the land as news of his death came within five days.[393] He had been killed by the crude people who live in the mountain range which they called Sierra Morena. The discoverers and friars feigned ignorance of his death, for that seemed advisable. Before this fatality the natives had considered the discoverers and friars as immortal children of the sun.

Plot to kill the Christians; killing of three horses

Seeing how easily Father Juan de Santa María had been killed the natives talked of killing the Christians in a general assembly of [the people] of their district. When this was known and their intentions suspected the party decided to leave these evil-minded people. They went to the town which they had named Mal Puerto.[394] Here they [the natives] began to effect the harmful plans agreed upon and circulated among themselves. They began with the horses, killing three of them while they were at this town called Porne.[395] The discoverers were so grieved and emboldened at this offense that they asked the leader for permission to punish the people of Malagón[396] as it was the first act of rashness, in order to prevent similar outrages which would take place if they failed to punish this one and to serve as a warning to others.

Punishment inflicted; the guilty abandon the town

When the leader saw the determination of the soldiers to chastise the delinquents he ordered five soldiers to get ready

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[392]When Father Santa María insisted on returning despite the protests of Chamuscado and the soldiers a written statement to this effect was drawn up by the notary "in the province of San Felipe," on September 10, 1581. A.G.I., 58-3-9.

[393]He left on the eve of Our Lady of September, according to Gallegos. *The Gallegos Relation,* 37.

[394]Mal Partida, according to Gallegos. *Ibid.,* 38.

[395]*Porue,* says Cuevas. *Obregón,* 279.

[396]Cuevas has *Malago,* which is the form in the manuscript, but there has been an erasure. It should be Malagón. See *The Gallegos Relation,* 38.

and to go to the town.[397] They went there determined to destroy and burn it and to kill a few of the offenders. Their town consisted of eighty houses.[398] They were determined to impose this punishment in order to frighten them and to gain prestige among the other pueblos. They [the Indians] were fearful, apprehensive, and cautious. They withdrew, abandoning the town. The boldest fortified the terraces and corridors of their houses in the pueblo and from there asked the discoverers what they wanted. They replied asking for the daring ones who had killed three of their horses. They [the natives] replied that the people of their town were not to blame. They were given to understand that they were going to punish the audacity of the guilty, and to frighten them fired several harquebuses. This terrified the natives greatly. They were astounded to see how so few Christians dared to attack such a large number of Indians. They excused themselves with much skill, and to appease the discoverers threw them numerous dead fowls which they did not take in order to appear rigorous and angry.

Punishment avoided as friars intervene; the guilty satisfy the discoverers; war council to kill the Christians

They seized three Indians and took them to the camp to have them publicly punished by the leader. He feigned to condemn them to be beheaded in public and arranged that the friars should come to intercede for them, in order that the Indians might know that the friars would protect and aid them. Thus the sentence was not carried out due to the entreaties of the religious. All these things frightened them. To soothe and dispell the anger of the discoverers they decided to give them quantities of fowls and other presents, promising to take care of the other horses and to provide the party with food. They asked them not to be angry but to be their good friends. They [the soldiers] warned them that if they knew who had killed the horses, and that if they killed another they would burn their towns and punish them with great severity. They [the Indians]

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[397]Gallegos gives their names: Pedro de Bustamante, Hernán Gallegos, Pedro Sánchez de Chaves, Felipe de Escalante, and Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida. *Ibid.*, 39.

[398]This is the pueblo called Malagón.

resented these threats and held a council "of war in which it was"[399] decided to call a general assembly of all the people in the province to kill them.

However as brave soldiers they did not fail to visit as much of the provinces as they could. They did this with all precaution, fully prepared with horses and weapons. On every trip they stationed guards day and night. And as the Indians noticed this precaution they did not dare to attack. On the contrary others learned of the determination reached in the council of war. Because of this fact the natives became still more fearful of the discoverers. The latter discussed among themselves whether they should anticipate a break and destroy a few towns in order to inspire greater fear in all, especially in those who might follow them in the first acts of rashness.

Suggestion of the friars; murder of the other two friars

The religious and the leader prevented this break. They said it was not good policy, that it would cause war where there was peace. Moreover the friars must remain to convert them through friendliness. They remained there to accomplish these aims.[400] However this was not a good plan because horses, goats, trinkets, and gifts had been given them and as the natives coveted these spoils, which are not found in their lands and thus highly esteemed, they killed the friars after the Christians had left these provinces. This was very unfortunate, not only on account of their death, but because it was difficult for the friars who followed them to convert the natives and to instruct them in the things pertaining to our holy Catholic faith. These last deaths revealed to them that the Christians were neither the children of the sun nor immortal.

Number of towns discovered by Coronado

In these places and provinces discovered there have been seen, inspected, and counted sixty-one pueblos with houses from two to six stories high and composed of three, four and five and even

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[399]This phrase is omitted by Cuevas.

[400]Fathers Francisco López and Agustín Rodríguez determined to remain in New Mexico when Chamuscado was ready to return, February 13, 1582. They did so against his firm opposition. See Chamuscado document of same date, in A.G.I., 58-3-9.

eight hundred houses. These towns contained from one to four or six hundred or even one and two thousand inhabitants, not including the many boys and girls.[401] Besides these pueblos they were informed of many others in the neighboring districts, very distant from them, some better than others. They were told of cities in addition to those discovered and inspected on the confines of these provinces by Francisco Vázquez Coronado, Antonio de Espejo and Francisco de Ibarra.

Most of these explored regions are in lands with good climate, soil, mountains, pastures, provisions, cattle, birds, game, and fowls. They are in places beyond which there doubtless are important towns as the land is extremely large and there is no knowledge of its limits or borders. Being an unknown land and undoubtedly containing very promising regions your majesty should be pleased to ascertain what is to be found farther on. This could be done with an expenditure of less than five thousand ducats with which fifty soldiers with a good leader, trained and used to these experiences, could be equipped.

Offer to explore beyond New Mexico

Even though I am the humblest of your vassals I offer to undertake it and to serve your majesty by discovering and exploring five hundred leagues beyond the province of San Felipe. If this service is not accepted there are captains in these parts very capable for such an undertaking. This should be done for the service of God our Lord and for the extension of this kingdom of your majesty. The enterprise would provide employment for your needy vassals and there are many, both there and here.[402]

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[401]Regarding the population of the pueblos, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 324, 325; cf. also *The Gallegos Relation*, 10 *et. seq.*

[402]That is, both in Spain and in Mexico.

CHAPTER VIII[403]

Which tells of the expedition made by Antonio de Espejo and Francisco de Heredia and their companions to the province of San Felipe of New Mexico and other regions.

WHEN the discovery of the provinces of San Felipe of New Mexico with its people, its opportunities, and things of profit was known the envy and desire of many of your majesty's subjects in this your kingdom were aroused. They wished to serve your royal crown by conquering and subduing the people, towns, and provinces in the new regions of San Felipe of New Mexico and the surrounding places, both because of their loyalty and in order to overcome their wants. These are almost as great as the needs endured by the vassals of the kingdom of Castile, which are greater among the important people, because there are no wars in which they can find employment and no lords whom they might serve. Likewise notable is the greed of the miners and others on account of the excellent reports which the discoverers have given of rich veins of silver. This unrest and covetousnesss were such that if it were not for the fact that they did not wish to disregard the loyalty and obedience which they owe your majesty many would have attempted to conquer and subdue the said provinces in your name. In the hope that your majesty will soon give them this opportunity they have controlled and calmed their determination, cupidity, and desire. Meanwhile there is not lacking someone earnest and determined who would serve your majesty and furnish a true account of the number of towns, the resources and the customs of the people in those provinces. This would make known the other parts near those provinces. Thus as a protector and supporter of the Christian fold, who guides conversion to our

[403]There have been many changes in the numbering of the chapters in the manuscript. This chapter was first numbered "capitulo primero." Perhaps it was planned that the volume should consist of three parts with this the first chapter of Book III.

holy Catholic faith, you might devise the suitable remedy to prevent the damnation of a large number of heathen Indians who are condemned because they have lacked the light of faith and someone to instruct them. These things could easily be brought to them through the power and will of your majesty as I have explained in this account.

The determination of Antonio de Espejo, and his brave deed, deserve to be praised, esteemed, and rewarded by your majesty. He was a resident of this city of Mexico and a native of the town of Torre Milano, a district under the jurisdiction of the city of Cordova. Moved by the desire to serve your majesty with his person, life, and property earnestly and industriously he was the instrument and the principal promoter in assembling all the soldiers and friars possible.[404] He gave them everything they needed to accompany him on the expedition in the service of your majesty. He had obtained a commission from the authorities of Santa Bárbola,[405] who likewise invested money and helped the expedition as much as possible, each according to his means. Those who went were: Father Pedro de Heredia, until he returned, of the order of Saint Francis; Captain Bernardo de Luna, from Aragon; Juan López de Ibarra, a native of Biscay; Diego Pérez de Luján and Gasper de Luján, brothers, natives of Seville; Francisco Barreto, a Portuguese; Pedro Hernández de Almansa, a native of Almansa; Alonso de Miranda, a native of Galicia; Juan Fernández, a Portuguese. They served your majesty with much interest, care, and perseverance, obedient to their captain Antonio de Espejo.

On this expedition also went Miguel Sánchez Valenciano; Lázaro Sánchez and Miguel Sánchez Nebado, his sons; Casilda de Amaya, wife of the said Valenciano and mother of the two said children called Pedro and Juan;[406] Cristóbal Sánchez, and

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[404]The Franciscans feared for the safety of the two friars of Chamuscado's party who had remained in New Mexico (see note 400), and Espejo volunteered to lead an expedition to rescue them. See his narrative in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 169.

[405]Espejo got his commission from the *alcalde mayor* of Cuatro Ciénegas, a settlement seventy leagues east of Santa Bárbara. *Ibid.*, 170.

[406]Espejo does not give the names of the boys Pedro and Juan, but Luxán does. A translation of this journal is soon to be published by the editors.

his nephew Gregorio Hernández, both of Galicia; and Juan de Frias. All of them were provided by Captain Antonio de Espejo with provisions, arms, horses, clothing, and other things necessary for the expedition. With these preparations Captain Antonio de Espejo left with the above mentioned soldiers from San Bartolomé, which is under the jurisdiction of the town and mines of Santa Bárbola. He left on November 10, 1582.

After marching two days they were overtaken by additional friars of the same order with express command for Father Pedro de Heredia to return as it was necessary in obedience to the prelate.[407] He obeyed. He left to Father Bernaldino Beltrán and Antonio de Espejo a commission granted him by Juan de Ibarra, lieutenant-governor of New Vizcaya, by which he was given authority to penetrate and explore, and subdue the Conchos Indians and other nations near them, and bound the magistrates of the said jurisdiction to aid and support Father Pedro de Heredia on his mission. He also left Father Bernaldino Beltrán in charge to minister the sacraments, asking the party to march slowly so that he could overtake it.

They marched seventy leagues down the Conchas river from the above mentioned valley. Having gone that distance, they came to the river which the discoverers of the province of San Felipe had named the Rio del Norte. As I say they reached the junction of the two rivers. From that point they continued to the towns and settlements on the Guadalquivir river, which comes from the new land.

Killing of three horses; an interpreter found

On that expedition they called the natives the Conchos and Pazaguates;[408] restored them to peace and thus left them. They next reached the Patazagueyes,[409] among themselves called Jamana,[410] who live along the same rivers, the Conchas and Del Norte, which the discoverers named Guadalquivir. These Indians, fearful and cautious of companies of soldiers that had

[407] A fuller account of these events is given in Luxán's *Entrada*.
[408] They came to the Pazaguates, according to Espejo, after having marched thirty-four leagues, while the day by day reckoning of Luxán makes it sixty-seven leagues.
[409] These are the Patarabueyes.
[410] The Jumanos. The name is spelled variously.

offended them by making them slaves, believed that they had come to cause harm, and therefore killed three of their horses that night. Some soldiers went to put a stop to this and to punish the offense. They called the natives through an interpreter who knew both languages. He was named Pedro and had been baptized. He had been seized at that ranchería. As he was recognized by his father and relatives the Indians came down from the mountains in answer to his call. About sixty of them returned to their town at the instance and advice of the soldiers.

Find a Christian Indian left by the first friars

From this ranchería they went on two days to a town up the river which they called San Bartolomé. Here they found an Indian, Juan Cantor, a native of the said town, versed in the Mexican language. He had been made a slave on a former occasion. He had gone to the new land with the first friars who accompanied Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado.

News of the friars

When this Indian learned of the coming of Antonio de Espejo he went out to find and receive him. As Father Bernaldino Beltrán recognized him, he inquired about the friars with whom the native had come to the new land, whether they were dead or alive. The Indian replied that one of them had been killed by the natives of that land and that the other two were still alive.

Demand of the friar; reply of the soldiers

Father Bernaldino Beltrán exhorted all the soldiers to go to their rescue. If they did not go he would go alone. The soldiers answered that they should be acquainted with the contents of his requisition, and they were. They questioned some Indians to verify the statements of the interpreter Juan Cantor. These declared that the friars were alive.

Choice of Espejo

As they [the soldiers] had not chosen a captain or leader to direct them they decided to hold a council of war and reach an agreement. In this meeting Antonio de Espejo was chosen and appointed as their captain and *justicia mayor*. This appoint-

ment was made in the name of your majesty so that they might hasten to relieve the two friars. It was to be valid until further orders might be dispatched by your majesty.[411] He was appointed with the provision that if they should establish any town or village the said charge and commission should remain under the authority of the cabildo they had appointed, that it should be held in the name of your majesty, thus taking the necessary measures for the service of your royal crown.

Arrival at valley of La Cienega

From this place they marched up the river until they came to a place where they were told of the location of the horse belonging to the friars. During the stops made along the way the captain called together the Indians, whom he gave good advice and presents, leaving them in peace which they still preserve.

From here they continued up the said river until they reached the Valle de la Cienega where they rested for eight days.[412] During this time the captain sent out calls to the natives who lived in the neighborhood. They came in large numbers and were well received, advised, and presented with the kind of gifts which they carried. By such means he left them pleased and pacified.

Espejo's party at the first settlements

They went on from this place until they reached the first towns which are located two hundred and sixty leagues from Santa Bárbola.[413] These settlements were discovered by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and the friars and soldiers who accompanied him. Antonio de Espejo and the people with him were friendly received in that province. The natives served and presented them with quantities of provisions, corn, tortillas, chickens, beans, and calabashes. In this province they found shiny metals, a black amorphous substance, and a soft metal which seemed to be silver ore. This took place toward the region

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[411]Father Heredia, as stated earlier in this chapter, had been detained but was expected to join the expedition again and to name a captain. This appears from Luxán's *Entrada*.

[412]Bolton thinks this was some distance below El Paso. *Spanish Exploration*, 175 note 1. Cf. note 362 of this volume. Espejo says they remained there three days and nights.

[413]Cf. note 365.

of the South Sea. This region has mountain ranges very prom
ing for mines. Antonio de Espejo, Bernaldo de Luna, a
those who went with them affirm that the people of this provi
are domestic, orderly, and industrious. By means of a hoe su
as used by the Mexicans they cultivate quantities of corn, bea
calabashes, and *piciete*, a herb very beneficial for health.
weapons they use a shield made of cowhide, a club, and a sm
bow.

CHAPTER IX

Relating how Antonio de Espejo and his companions visited the provinces and people of San Felipe; the provinces of the Tiguas, Quires, Quecera, Cia, Cola, Cíbola, Alpemo, Xonami, Xomupa, Olay, Ola Tamones, [414] Ciquic, and the others which he traversed; and the events that took place in those provinces.

Espejo visits the first settlement in New Mexico

WHILE Antonio de Espejo, Father Bernaldino Beltrán, and their companions were visiting the people, province, and towns of San Felipe bordering upon the Tiguas they were informed how the latter had remained in the Tigua pueblo of Puara. These people knew of their coming, and that they were thirty-nine mounted men including the captain, friars, soldiers, and servants. They had counted them in order to kill them. The soldiers answered the natives that they cared nothing for their threats and that they were not afraid of all the natives in all the provinces as they were powerless to harm them.

Espejo and the soldiers disagree

At this time arose divergent opinions which gave rise to differences[415] and arguments between the captain and the soldiers. Thus Father Bernaldino Beltrán, Miguel Sánchez Valenciano, his sons and his nephew Cristóbal Sánchez, and Gregorio Hernández were of the opinion that all should return inasmuch as the friars had been killed. Antonio de Espejo, Diego Pérez de Luján, Bernaldo de Luna, and the rest of the party were opposed on the ground that it was not fitting to turn back. On the contrary they should go on discovering, inspecting, and exploring the provinces and go to the place where the friars left in the country were said to have been killed. This same opinion was held by Juan López de Ibarra, Gaspar de Luján, and Pedro Her-

[414] These names are confusing. In the manuscript we have the following: *xonamixomupa y olay y olatamones.* Cuevas has this arranged in his own manner.

[415] Cuevas has *unos litigios*, for *hubo litigios.* Cuevas, *Obregón*, 289.

nández de Almansa. The outcome of these disagreements was that they went to gather information and visit some of the largest pueblos situated back of the sierra. They did this to explore the lay of the land and to determine on a place suitable for the establishment of their camp.

The Manguos visited; eleven pueblos

These pueblos are eleven in number and of similar organization, arrangement, and customs as the others.[416] The houses were two and three stories high, the walls being of stone and adobe. They sow in the rainy season. No river was found in their settlement. They gave some silver metal which seemed rich. The mountains are very suitable and likely to contain metals. In this region are fine mountains and pastures. The water and climate are good. They till the soil with hoes like the Mexicans. The weapons which they bear are a small bow arrows, a cowhide shield, wooden and stone bludgeons loaded at the end. These people are more warlike than those formerly encountered.

The Tiguas; Puara, where friars were killed; sixteen pueblos

From there they continued their journey to the province of the Tiguas and to the pueblo of Puara where the friars had remained. They went there because they had learned that it was a suitable place for a Christian settlement. They reached this place in the second week of Lent in the year 1582. In this region they visited sixteen pueblos, some containing over six hundred houses according to Antonio de Espejo's men. They found them abandoned but containing plenty of provisions. They were afraid of punishment for having murdered the friars.

Pacification of Puara

After Antonio de Espejo learned that the people of Puara had really killed the friars[417] he endeavored to have them come down from the mountains to the towns where they made their abode and had fortresses. He did this personally, and by means of flattery induced about two hundred of them to come down

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[416]They are also called Magrias or Maguas. They were southeast of Puara. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 180 note 2.

[417]Fathers Francisco López and Agustín Rodríguez.

Half of them came to the camp, where he promised all good friendship. He urged them to influence the others to come down. Moreover he promised to leave their towns soon. To this effect he issued a proclamation, commanding the party to leave the town within three hours to discover other provinces of which he had information. This was done to preserve peace between the Christians and the natives. By this method he prevailed upon them to be peaceful and to stay in their settlement, in the houses of their towns and in the fields. The people are industrious. They cultivate the land in the rainy season, using hoes like the Mexicans. They have the same weapons as their neighbors.

Visit to the Tiguas [sic]

From the district of the Tiguas they went to visit the Quires, who are six leagues from Puara.[418] These people received the party with much respect and friendliness, presenting them with much food consisting of corn, *pinole*,[419] tortillas, chickens, beans, and calabashes which they raise in the rainy season. They are friends of the Christians. They have the same customs as the people of Puara.

Quereque; Espejo takes possession of the provinces

From the Queros they went to discover, visit, and inspect the pueblo named Queraque.[420] It contains over one thousand houses three and four stories high and has seven plazas. Here Captain Antonio de Espejo took possession of the town and provinces in the name of your majesty. He did this with unfurled flag, with much noise and rejoicing and notarial acts. The inhabitants of this pueblo were given to understand that they were now vassals of your majesty and that they should report the damage inflicted upon them by their enemies that the Christians might defend, protect, and help them. Accordingly they offered them assistance and support. After these exercises they returned to their camp. These people sent the cap-

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[418]Up the Rio del Norte. See Espejo's narrative, in *ibid.*, 181.

[419]"They drink toasted *pinole*, which is corn toasted and ground and mixed with water." *Ibid.*, 178.

[420]A comparison with Espejo's narrative shows that this is the province which he called Pumames, or Punames, and that Sia is the same as Queraque or a nearby pueblo. See *ibid.*, 181, 182.

tain presents of fowls and all kinds of the provisions which they possess.

Rich mineral ore

In this pueblo, in the house of a cacique, the natives gave Bernaldo de Luna a lump of metal about the size of two fingers. It seemed to be very rich. Its color was a bluish black tint. It was dry, similar to the metal found at Chiametla. It could be cut with a knife. It was not assayed for its richness.

Metal

A small river flows close to this pueblo or city. The natives said the metal had been brought from the province of the Emixis.[421] They affirmed that the largest town in the provinces of the Emixes was three times larger than theirs. They said it contained four thousand houses like their own and that it was twice as large as Cia.[422]

These natives are similar to the Mexicans. They sow and harvest in the rainy seasons. They are peaceful and industrious. They employ the same type of weapons as the others. There is a mountain range two leagues distant with many hills very well adapted for silver mines.

Acuco discovered by Coronado

From the pueblo and city of Cia the captain and soldiers went to visit and examine the strong town of Acuco.[423] It was discovered by Francisco Vázquez Coronado in the year 1540 and had been visited by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and his companions. It is strong, being located on a great rock fifty *estados* high and three-fourths of a league in circumference. The ascent and descent of this town is by means of holes made in the rock, and when an Indian is descending no other can ascend at the same time. I have already given an account of this strong town in the chapter[424] regarding the expedition made by Francisco Vázquez Coronado, first discoverer of that pueblo and

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[421]Jemez. Espejo's party visited Jemez before goining on to Ácoma.
[422]Sia. Today it is a small Keresan tribe on the Jemez river. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 562.
[423]Ácoma. See note 78.
[424]Chapter III of Part I above.

province. According to Antonio de Espejo and Bernaldo de Luna it has six hundred houses.

The natives received the party with much respect and many gifts. They celebrated with the performance of dances called *mytote* in the Mexican language. Four hundred Indians took part and it lasted day and night. It was done with much solemnity, the dancers being adorned with richly painted blankets and brilliant feathers after the Mexican fashion. The natives presented them with quantities of fowls, *pinole*, corn, and tortillas. Their fields are down below, surrounding the town. They have other fields three leagues away which are irrigated.[425]. Each Indian has a shack on his field where they gather their harvests. Above these farms and the creek is a sierra with many hills, some of them bare and suitable for silver mines. They did not look for such because they were not properly equipped. The houses and people, their food, weapons, and way of dressing are like those of the people previously visited.

Election of an alferez

On leaving this town for Cíboro the differences among the soldiers and their desire to return to the land of the Christians increased. To appease the author and principal instigator of this discord they agreed to elect Gregorio Hernández, a Galician, as their *alferez*. This was done in order to force him, by virtue of his position, to abandon his bad ideas and to cease disturbing the other soliders. But it did not have that effect as I shall relate in the proper place.

Cíbola; how received; four Christian Indians; six pueblos there

From here the captain and his companions went to Cíboro, called Cíbola[426] by the Christians, where they were extremely well received, respected, served, and regaled by the natives. They offered their personal services and presented them with tortillas, fowls, hares, and rabbits. There came out to meet them especially four Christian Indians who had remained in those provinces when Francisco Vázquez Coronado was there. They speak

[425]The same is true today. See Sedgwick, Mrs. W. T. *Acoma, the Sky City*, 33, 159.
[426]This is Zuñi, in Valencia county, New Mexico.

the Mexican language. Two of them are brothers, Andrés and Gaspar, natives of the city of Mexico. Of the others one called Martín is a native of Tuiala and the other, Anton, is a native of the town of Lician.[427] It was very pleasing to the captain, the friar, and the soldiers, as they were Christians and spoke languages that would enable them to learn about the secrets and settlements of those provinces. These Indians showed great satisfaction at the sight of the Christians. This made the others suspicious. As they [the soldiers] told them that they were going to settle in their lands the four did not go away with the former. They are more esteemed and respected in those towns than the caciques. They had erected crosses in six different towns subject to Cíboro, in Masaque, Zaquema, Alona, Quequina, Acinco, Cana.[428]

Reports of gold in new lands

At the town of Quequina it happened that an Indian named Nolaca, a resident of the said pueblo, on taking hold of a trumpet and the tassels on its cords, said that sixty days from his town toward the northwest was something shiny like that. It was in the west, of higher quality and more shiny than the metal of the trumpet. They showed him a copper spoon to see if he would say that it was like that, but he maintained that it was like the metal of the trumpet and even better. He said that in the place mentioned where the metal is found the natives wear it around the fleshy part of their arms, on the forehead and head. They asked him if he had been in the region where he affirmed that kind of metal was found. He answered that he had seen the metal and that he knew of it through the information passed from one to another and from district to district. He was asked if there was water along the road to the place where the metal was located. He did not know, but at Olapo,[429] a town forty

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[427]Espejo in his narrative says there were three, Andrés of Cuyuacan, Gaspar of Mexico, and Anton of Guadalajara. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 184.

[428]Regarding these pueblos, see Hodge, "The Six Cities of Cíbola, 1581-1680," in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, I, 477-488. Obregón's Masaque becomes Matsaki; Zaquema, Kiakima; Alona, Halona; Quequina, Kwakina; Acinco, Hawikuh; and Cana, Kyanawa.

[429]Perhaps one of the Hopi pueblos is meant. The distance is wrong, but that might be due to faulty interpretation.

leagues farther on, the natives would give them more reliable information of all these things. These people cultivate their lands in the wet season and irrigate them. They promised the party that they would double the crop in the coming year to provide for the time when they would return to their towns.

Reference to Coronado; docile people

The people of this pueblo told them that Francisco Vázquez Coronado had left two or three companies of captains there for a long time while he went to Quivira. Antonio de Espejo and his companions rested here fifteen days, until Easter was over. The people of this region are the most domestic, obedient, and loyal of all those visited by Antonio de Espejo. Their houses are three and four stories high and have corridors. They are hard workers, warlike, and have the same weapons as the rest.

Tuzayán, discovered by Tovar; Christians forbidden to enter

From Cíboro they sent messengers to the people of the pueblo of Mohoce,[430] which the men with Francisco Vázquez Coronado call Tuzayán, to reassure them and to gain their friendship. They sent a reply by four old men of their town who stated that the people of their town, Mohoce, said that they did not wish them to enter their pueblos, nor would they consent to that "and that they should let them know what they desired"[431] of that which they possessed and they would send it. If they insisted on going they would prevent it by force of arms and make war on them. The Christians replied that their great king and lord ordered them to visit and examine their towns and that if they returned without doing so he would order them to be killed. For this reason they could not fail to go and see them. Thus they marched during Easter week until they reached Mohoce.

Appeal to Tuzayán; peaceful welcome

Don Pedro de Tovar, captain and *alferez mayor* of Francisco Vázquez Coronado, had destroyed a city in this province called Tuzayán to avenge the death of five Christians killed by the na-

[430]The Hopi towns in northeastern Arizona were called Tuzayán by Coronado, and Mohoce or Mohace by Espejo.

[431]The part in quotation marks is omitted by Cuevas.

tives.[432] This was stated by the four old men. Remembering this destruction the messengers told the Christians that they would give them a friendly reception and become their friends. They reached this conclusion because they [the Christians] were well equipped with arms, horses, and harquebuses. They had different, better, and more dangerous arms than those carried by Coronado's people, for the latter carried lances, while Antonio de Espejo's followers had good defensive weapons which shot fire and made the stones crumble like the lightning from heaven. On this account they changed their minds and sent away the warriors that had been assembled in the mountains. These people are called the Querechos. They go about naked and the people of this town had enlisted their aid.

One hundred eighty Cíbolans to go against Tuzayán

The day when the party reached Tuzayán they had sent away the Chichimeca people gathered to attack the soldiers. The latter took with them one hundred and eighty friendly Indians[433] from Cíboro. They arrived at sunset. At this hour the natives came to receive them a league beyond their town. They met the party with much respect and love, bringing a cart load of the provisions which they possessed.

Fortress built at Tuzayán; Aguato, a well settled city

It should be noted that on the following day the people of Cíboro suggested that the Christians should build a fortress and that they would help. This was done with the aid of the people of Cíboro and Mohoce. The fortress was built of stone, about one *estado* high, more or less. Thus the surrounding land could be seen at a glance. Its walls were two *varas* thick. It was over sixty yards square, with only one entrance through which two mounted men could ride abreast.[434] There were so many people to build it that it was finished in four hours. It was of no use

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[432]This seems to be an error. Tovar visited Tuzayán and had a fight with the natives after which they were peaceful, but that was all. See Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, 488.

[433]Espejo says one hundred and fifty. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 185.

[434]Espejo merely notes that a stockade was built. *Ibid.*

to them because they decided to go to the pueblo called Aguato,[435] which was visited by the captain and nine soldiers. The others had remained at Cíboro with Father Bernaldino Beltrán, saying that they did not wish to go away to die.

Fear of the harquebuses

Those who went with him were Miguel Sánchez Valenciano; his sons Lazaro and Miguel Sánchez; his nephew Cristóbal Sánchez; Juan de Frias; and their servants. These nine people entered the city with unfurled flag and bugle blowing. They marched around the streets and plazas, and at the main plaza the captain took possession of the city in the name of your majesty for your royal crown. At the discharge of the harquebuses the inhabitants became so terrified that they did not show themselves except one here and there, pale with fright. This city is composed of fifteen hundred houses three and four stories high.

Gift of one thousand blankets

After these events they left the city and fixed their camp a fourth of a league from the city, next to a spring below the pueblo. Hardly had they camped there when as many as two thousand residents came with quantities of corn, fowls, rabbits, and other things needed in the camp. They also presented them with a thousand cotton blankets, many pieces of cloth, and well tanned deerskins.

Xoalpe; no glankets given the friar; gift of three thousand blanquets; no mines

From this province and district of Mohoce and Tuzayán they went to explore and visit the other towns of the same language and customs. These towns are called Oalpes, Moxanamy, Xomupa, and Oloxao.[436] They took possession of them in the name of your majesty. They belong to the same nation and their houses are of the same type. The captain and the soldiers were offered over three thousand blankets in these five pueblos. They affirmed that these towns contained over fifty thousand souls. No trace

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[435]Aguato was identical with Awatobi. It was situated on a mesa nine miles southeast of Walpi in northeastern Arizona. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 119.

[436]Luxán has Aguato, Gaspe, Comupani, Majanani, and Olallay. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 186 note 2.

or indication of mines was found. They cultivate the land in the wet season. There is little pasture for cattle. They use the same kind of weapons as the other natives. They have numerous fields of the products grown by the other towns. In this province they heard of veins and decided to send five men to discover them. According to report the metal was fifty leagues farther in the interior. The other five men returned to Cíboro where Father Bernaldino Beltrán and the rest had remained.

Report of metals beyond Tuzayán

They took along guides from Tuzayán.[437] After these events they continued cautiously to the confines of the valleys of Señora.[438] On their way they found three rivers and many swamps, hills, and meadows. They also met numerous Querechos, naked people, who wore crosses by instructions from the other people farther back so that they would not be harmed. These crosses were carried on the head with the end reaching to the bridge of the nose. These people took them to the mines. They found there a coppery metal and some bluish stones used by the painters and goldsmiths for coloring and decorating. With it they paint their blankets, houses, and pottery and also themselves. As these mines were not good they asked the natives for others. They answered that three days farther on were many mines from which they got shiny and white metals.

Split in Espejo's party

As the men were so few and far from their companions they did not go to discover and assay them, but returned, going as far as Cíboro, a distance of eighty leagues.[439] On arriving there they found the people divided into different camps. Miguel Sánchez, his sons, his nephew, and Juan de Frias were with

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[437]This refers to the party that went in search of mines.

[438]They did not go near Señora but into western Arizona, and may have reached Bill Williams Fork. *Ibid.*, 187 note 2.

[439]Espejo says he went directly west from Moqui forty-five leagues and then returned to Zuñi by a better road, a distance of sixty leagues. *Ibid.*, 187, 188.

Father Bernaldino Beltrán. They had left the others and gone to another town.[440]

Flag taken from the alferez

The captain asked Father Bernaldino Beltrán to say mass for them on the day of Corpus Christi.[441] He complied with the request in order to reassure them, for with cunning and deceit the said friar, the *alferez*, and the other allies were acting with duplicity, determined to return to the land of the Christians. With this in mind they began to get ready on the day before Corpus Christi. On the morning of that day they shod their horses. The captain was informed of all this and remonstrated with them, pointing out the reasons wherefore they were obliged to continue the expedition and the exploration undertaken. They feigned that their departure from the town was to find better pasture for the horses as this existed in the town where they were going. Since the captain knew the dissimulation and the pretended excuses he ordered the *alferez* not to leave the camp, and that if they insisted on going he should leave the flag. He had taken part in making the above excuses and replied that he would not leave the banner because it belonged to him. The captain responded that he gave him the standard with which to serve your majesty in discovering, exploring, and settling the land, or at least to give an account of the resources and inhabited parts of those lands. The *alferez*, knowing that they were watched by the others, replied that he did not wish to remain in land so distant from Christians; a place where in two hours thirty thousand Indians could be assembled who would kill their horses and themselves afterwards. On account of these reasons he did not wish to stay but to accompany Father Bernaldino Beltrán and those who were returning to the Christian lands.[442] Seeing his determination the captain took away the flag and they departed, going eight leagues from there without stopping.

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[440]They were in the town called Aquico, or Hawikuh. See Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 1017. Espejo adds the names of Cristóbal Sánchez and Casilda de Amaya, the wife of Miguel Sánchez Valenciano. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 185.

[441]The feast of Corpus Christi is celebrated by Roman Catholics on the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday.

[442]Espejo does not mention these dissensions in his report.

On this expedition an Indian servant ran away from them and returned to Cíboro where he remains. He speaks the Mexican and Castilian languages, and those who may go to Cíboro can employ him as interpreter and as a means of learning some of the secrets of the land in the interior.

Death of a Christian Indian

Two days after these dissensions among the Christians they left Cíboro. The natives took leave of them with much respect and love, grieving that they were leaving their town. They went to Hacholma,[443] five days from Cíbora, where two Indian servants ran away from them. One of them, a married man, was killed and his wife came to the camp to report that the Indians of a nearby pueblo had put her husband to death. The captain sent some soldiers with the woman to punish the guilty. They found the man wounded but still alive. They took him to the camp where he said he was dying because those who had gone away had asked the natives to escape and join them and that they would give him horses for leaving the land. While making these statements he died and they buried him in the fields of Acacolma.

Clash with the natives; one wounded

From this pueblo of Acacolma they went to the Cieneguilla del Rosal belonging to "the Querechos. There are numberless roses"[444] of Castile here. At this place they were attacked at daybreak by the natives who killed a horse. To avenge and punish this act the soldiers went in search of them the next morning and succeeding, had a fight with them. The natives wounded a soldier with an arrow which pierced one of his arms and his jaw. They took an Indian woman in this encounter. The captain wanted to free her, but at the suggestion of Bernaldino de Luna he took her along that she might learn the Mexican language and serve as guide and interpreter. Thus she

[443]Clearly Ácoma.

[444]The part in quotation marks is omitted by Cuevas. Dr. F. W. Hodge, in a personal letter, notes that the Cieneguilla del Rosal was identical with Acomita. Here the Ácoma Indians have had their fields since the Spaniards first appeared in New Mexico. Hernando de Alvarado in 1540 and Antonio de Espejo in 1583 speak of them. See *14th Ann. Rep.* Bur. Am. Eth., 594, and Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 183.

was brought to Santa Bárbola. These people do not wear clothes; they are hostile and warlike. They use the same kind of weapons as the other natives.

Bernaldino de Luna leaves tools; his death

From Ceneguilla del Rosal the captain and the discoverers returned to the province of the friendly Quires Indians where they had been before. At this place Bernaldino de Luna left some implements for mining silver with the cacique of the pueblo for storage. This good soldier died in the service of your majesty. His descendants are entitled to some compensation since he came to this city to give an account of the service which he and the others rendered your royal crown.

Discoveries of Coronado and Espejo contiguous

He [Luna] gave me the account of the entire expedition and the discoveries made by Antonio de Espejo and his companions. I consider it reliable due to the comparisons which I made with what had been said of the pueblos by those who went with Francisco Vázquez Coronado on his expedition. A chapter is devoted to that subject at the beginning of this relation. By comparing the names of the towns, provinces, and the other things it is possible to determine the truth of these accounts. This was done for that purpose as well as to learn the number of leagues from the land discovered by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, the provinces of San Felipe of New Mexico, to the provinces of Cíbora, Tibues, Cicuic, and the others discovered and traversed by Francisco Vázquez Coronado. This was done that your majesty might know of these former explorations.

It seems that the people and towns have increased, according to these accounts and from what I have learned from Coronado's men still living. It cannot be considered untruthful merely because those who went with Antonio de Espejo affirm that the towns, provinces, and people are more numerous than is stated by those who accompanied Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado. It is a matter of experience in these parts that small towns and provinces have increased and large ones have diminished. Moreover the climate is good in those lands and there are no human sacrifices. Even though there are wars among them they are infrequent and do not result in many deaths. For these

reasons one must credit their reports, particularly since they have been given under oath as testimony.

Trip to the mines of Santa Catalina

From the Quires the captain and his men went to see and inspect the mines called Santa Catalina[445] discovered by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and his companions. They had not assayed them because they left, taking some samples along. The other people also brought samples.

Visit to the Tamones

From the mines of Santa Catalina they went to visit three towns in the province of the Tamones[446] called Xameca. These towns consisted of a plaza and three hundred houses, three and four stories high. From the district of the Tamones they went to see a large town named Tepocoty,[447] which has almost one thousand houses of the same height and has terraces like the others. The people live, sow, and fight like the rest.

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[445]Espejo says they went east twelve leagues from the Quires to a province called Ubates having five pueblos, and from there found the mines of which they had heard after traveling two days. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 188, 189.

[446]Tanos. See Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 686, 687.

[447]Espejo's narrative mentions only Cicuye (Pecos) after leaving the province of Tanos. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 189. Tepocoty, or Tepotro as it is called in the next chapter, was near Pecos. See page 335.

CHAPTER X

Telling how Antonio de Espejo and his companions visited Cicuic; of the idolatry, ritualism, and ceremonies used in the provinces he traversed; of how he finished the expedition; and of the number of pueblos, houses, and people he discovered and visited.

Visit to Cicuic

FROM THE town called Tepotro Antonio de Espejo went to see the city of Cicuic,[448] the best and largest of all the towns discovered by Francisco Vázquez Coronado. This town is built on rocks. A large part of it is located between two streams. The houses, having from three to four terraces, are whitewashed and painted with very bright colors and showy paintings. Its fine appearance can be seen from afar. They camped within two harquebus shots of the city, on a level space between the two streams. They thought it noteworthy that Francisco Vázquez Coronado's party of six hundred Spaniards and three thousand Mexican Indians had surrounded and besieged this town over forty days, battering and trying to conquer it. The natives had defended themselves with bravery and determination. They would not submit or accept peace either through friendliness, threats, or force. Thus the general had decided to raise the siege and leave them victorious.[449]

Espejo enters Cicuic with five soldiers

Antonio de Espejo entered the town with five soldiers. They [the Indians] had become bold, impudent, and insolent and the soldiers came to punish the audacity and effrontery which they had shown. They entered the city with much precaution and care, determined to chastise them and to impress them. They discharged some of the harquebuses while passing through the plaza and streets. When they [the Indians] saw that they were so determined and well equipped with arms they became so frightened that hardly one of them dared to appear. Only a

[448] The pueblo of Pecos.
[449] See pages 17, 18.

bold and audacious Mexican Indian who had been with Coronado's expedition ventured forth. He begged them with great fear and humility not to fire the harquebuses nor to start fighting because they wished to be their friends and would give everything they desired and needed. Thus peace was made between the natives and the six Christians. When they were located once more in their camp they were brought quantities of provisions, as much as they wanted and would have need of for the whole trip to Santa Bárbola.

Two Indians taken to be educated

They left this place, taking along two Indians to Christian lands. They should learn the language and serve as guides to the general who might go to settle this new land. They took leave of these people and left them pacified and friendly toward the Christians. One of the Indians ran away. Those who accompanied Antonio de Espejo affirm that this is the largest pueblo they saw on the entire expedition. The same is affirmed by those who went with Coronado.

These and the other towns situated in the provinces mentioned are of similar type and have the same customs. The men and women wear well woven cotton blankets painted with beautiful colors and designs. They are almost two *varas* in length, like those of Mexico. The women wear skirts open on the side and tie them with a wide sash of woven cotton. Next to the body they wear a somewhat better blanket. At the ends are colored trimmings and tassels. They do their hair like the Spanish women and fix it in beautiful knots.

No king in those provinces; respect for chiefs

In none of the regions of these Indian nations nor in those of the surrounding territory of which information has been gathered do they obey or acknowledge a king. However each has its own chief and leader who, though little respected, rules the others. This is known because the caciques have been seen to carry burdens like the least important Indian in the town. They do not pay him tribute. The recognition of these chiefs consists in working their fields and protecting their houses. They rule and govern the pueblos, their idolatry, and wars, and the larger the town the greater the cacique.

House of idolatry; ritualism

The Indian nations in these regions are idolaters. For this purpose they build and set aside houses and have priests and persons who practise this worship. The sacrifice is of all sorts, goods, food, clothing, and other things which they possess. There are few blood offerings. In some places they have idols painted on flag-stones as high as a man's breast. There is a figure of an Indian badly painted with a crown on his head and surrounded by flames. The offering generally consists of all the things they have and of as much as each can give.

The funeral honors and anniversary of one who dies consist of gathering all the articles of clothing left by the deceased and throwing the clothing and the dead body on a heap of firewood and burning it.[450] All of the Indian women in the town come together. Each one carries a little corn and some wood which they throw on the fire until the wood and the body are completely consumed. If a bone remains unburned, no matter how small, it is picked up by those who serve in the temple and thrown into a hole dug inside of a large one. When they dispose of it thus they say "toma come," and then cover it with a stone and fill the large hole with dirt. If any corn is left from the offering because of coming too late for the fire and sacrifice it is carried away by the man or woman who serves in the house of idolatry.

Decision of the captain to return; service rendered by Espejo

When they had seen and visited all the pueblos and provinces possible, noting that the land was commodious and fit for settlement, the captain decided to return in order to ask for aid and support from the governors whom your majesty has in these parts. They came to give an account of their expedition in order to go back to settle those lands and convert the natives to our holy Catholic faith. Father Bernaldino Beltrán and Captain Antonio de Espejo had already instructed and prepared them for it. On account of this good and loyal service rendered your majesty he deserves the reward which your majesty may be pleased to grant.

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[450]On burial customs, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 945-947.

Return of Espejo's party; a swollen river

They returned to the land of the Christians, descending the Rio de las Vacas[451] which they reached a league from Cicuic. They followed this river one hundred and thirty leagues[452] without meeting a living soul. Along the river they saw numerous tracks of the cattle. These plains are very much like those of San Juan de los Chichimecos in Mexico. This river empties at the [land of the] Indian caciques and at the Conchas river. The junction of both rivers forms a basin two hundred *varas* wide and two *varas* deep. The water reaches to the pads of the saddle when forded during the dry season. It flows eastward toward Pánuco and empties into the North Sea. Before coming to the junction of these two rivers they met three Indians of the Jumana nation who guided them. They made them leave the river[453] and followed another route farther up until the road to Santa Bárbola was reached. This was a different road than the one taken in going to the new land.

Espejo's party arrested at Santa Bárbola; goods seized

After these events, diligence, and labor they arrived at Santa Bárbola without meeting with any mortal accident other than the death of the Indian servant. On arriving at Santa Bárbola they went to give an account of the expedition to the *alcalde mayor*. He took and kept the original report of the incidents that had occurred on the expedition of discovery. He also appropriated the Indians that they brought as guides and another Indian, a Xumana, who had come with them. He was a native of the same place as the Indian Pedro of the Jumana nation whom they had taken along as interpreter. Moreover he had them arrested and their goods confiscated, including three thousand blankets which they brought. These had been given to them as gifts by the natives of the new lands. When he had calmed down he returned these things by order of the royal audiencia of this New Spain.

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[451]The Pecos river.

[452]Espejo says one hundred and twenty leagues. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 189.

[453]The Pecos. They crossed to the Conchos river, a march of twelve days. See Espejo's account, in *ibid.*, 190.

Intervention of a magistrate

By the request of your *fiscal* Eugenio de Salazar a royal provision was drawn up in order to bring to light the deeds and diligences performed in the interior and the causes for the imprisonment of the discoverers. This was done to make amends to them and to teach the Indian guides brought along so that they might serve as interpreters in the new land. It is a matter of fact that the one who has shown greatest interest, diligence, and care in this expedition is Eugenio de Salazar, your *fiscal.* In everything desirable for your royal service he is extremely careful, solicitous, and diligent.

SUMMARY

Summary of the pueblos, houses, and natives of the provinces traversed, seen, and visited by Antonio de Espejo and those who went in his party.

HE PROVINCE of San Felipe of New Mexico has, according to Bernaldino de Luna, twelve pueblos each containing two hundred and fifty houses with terraces. They are found in an area twenty leagues by six. He says that each house has three residents.

The province of the Tiguas contains sixteen towns, each with two hundred terraced houses, having on an average three inhabitants.

The province of the Quires is six leagues from the Tiguas. It is composed of five towns of two hundred and fifty terraced houses each with three residents.

The province of Cia is six leagues from the Quires. It contains five towns. They have twelve hundred houses with terraces three and four stories high and with handsome corridors.

Ácuma, a strong pueblo on top of a rock, discovered by Coronado, has seven hundred houses three and four stories high. Coronado puts the number at five hundred.

Cíboro, called Cíbola in the Castilian language, is twenty-six leagues from the strong town of Acuco. De Espejo calls it Ácoma. It has six towns of two hundred and fifty terraced houses. They are three and four stories high and there are three dwellers in each.

Mohece, known by another name, was called the province of Tuzayán by Don Pedro de Tovar. It is thirty leagues from Cíbora. It contains five towns in which there are fifty thousand souls. They presented four thousand blankets. Back of the Rio del Norte and of the mountains between that river and the sierra of the cattle is the province of the Maguas. This includes eleven towns of two hundred and fifty houses, each three stories high and containing three inhabitants.

The Tamones have three towns close together, which constitute Cicuic. It has fifteen hundred houses with three residents

each. All these houses have terraces with corridors. The walls of these houses and of all others mentioned are of stone and adobe.

Thus it seems according to the report and the count made that there are seventy-eight towns in the regions seen, 22,400 houses and 117,300 Indians without counting the young men and women, the bachelors, and the children that are innumerable.

In all these provinces and towns there is no fruit of any kind, nor have they seen anything except Castile flax which the soil produces voluntarily without cultivation. They have no chile, but the natives were given some seed to plant.

BALTASAR OBREGÓN (Rubric)

We the undersigned notaries certify and attest that we saw the said Baltasar Obregón, whom we know, write the above signature reading "Baltasar Obregón" which he signed in our presence. He is a resident of this city and at his petition we attest it in the city of Mexico on the twenty-ninth day of April of the year 1584.

Pedro Sánchez Moreno—Notary of your majesty.
Juan María Jimenez—Notary of your majesty.
Manuel de los Reyes—Notary of your majesty.
(All carry rubrics)

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